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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION:

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ILLUSTRATING A MOST INTERESTING PERIOD OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BY

GEORGE COOK, D. D.
MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK.

———. *Sed in longum tamen ævum*
Manserunt, hodiéque manent vestigia.—HOR.

VOLUME THIRD.

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CHAP. XVII.

1640.

THE state of Britain, at the commencement of the long parliament, cannot be contemplated without deep interest, and without suggesting most import-

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1640. State of parties at the commencement of the long parliament.

ant political reflections. The King, educated in the principles of arbitrary government, and following the steps of many of his predecessors, saw the reverence and affection of a great part of his subjects weakened or destroyed. The voice of complaint and of remonstrance was every where loudly raised, while in Scotland the sword had been actually drawn against him, and he had been compelled to make the most mortifying concessions. This sudden change of public opinion, was, in a great degree, owing to the religious sentiments which had been extensively diffused. The unwise and violent attempts to impose upon the people of Scotland a form of ecclesiastical polity to which they were decidedly averse, pressed conscience into the service of patriotism, and rendered resistance to the tyranny of the monarch a sacred duty. In England, although the great majority of the people were attached to the hierarchy, yet there was so little tenderness shewn to the scruples of pious men about forms and ceremonies not essentially connected with the established faith, that the prelates who urged uniformity were viewed as the tools of despotism, or the secret friends of popery; and prejudices were thus gradually disseminated against their order, and the church by which it was revered. The King found himself unable to remove discontent. Though possessed of many private virtues, and probably sincerely desirous to promote the happiness of his subjects, he identified that hap-

piness with the unrestrained exercise of his prerogative, and he was in consequence averse to yield to the people, or was induced to snatch the first opportunity of regaining the privileges which he had surrendered. From the counsel or zeal of those by whom he was surrounded he derived little aid. The Earl of Strafford, indeed, with all the vigour of his powerful mind, did suggest measures, which, had they been successfully executed, might have crushed liberty under the weight of the throne; but his health was impaired, and his schemes were thwarted by the most powerful of the nobility, who envied his sudden elevation, or who were desirous that the freedom of their country should not be destroyed. The armies which his Majesty raised sympathized with the Scotish insurgents, whom they were intended to oppose; they murmured at the service assigned to them; and rendered it apparent that they felt no ardour for the cause of the monarch under whose banners they were enrolled.* In this inflamed state of the nation, the resolution to summon a parliament was attributed, not to a wish for the restoration of harmony, but to compulsion; and it was hailed as the decisive signal, that the enemies of Government would soon triumph.

The spirit of turbulence and disaffection was by nothing more cherished or preserved, than by the resolution to permit Scotish commissioners to reside

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1190—1195.

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in London, for completing the treaty of Rippon. The demands which formed the basis of that treaty were a practical exemplification of what might be obtained by steady opposition; the public character with which the commissioners were invested, gave them an influence which it was difficult to counteract, and they were regarded by all who were eager to abridge the prerogative, or to reform the church, with a degree of respect which gave a new direction to their own sentiments, and decided the part which the ministers and the estates of Scotland took in the eventful contest which ere long commenced.

Meeting of parliament.

On the 3d of November, the parliament assembled. It was composed of men not partial to the Court, and sharing the general zeal to remove grievances, and to set bounds to the power of the sovereign. Charles, who came to Westminster without the usual state, delivered a short speech, in which he dwelt upon the necessity of restoring peace by the expulsion of the Scotch, whom he denominated rebels; and he declared his anxiety to join in any measures which would not only remove complaint, but shew that his intention had ever been, and ever would be, to make England a flourishing kingdom.* There was, however, no intention in those whom he addressed to enter into his views with respect to the Scotish army. They

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 135. Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part 1. p. 1. Franklyn's Annals, p. 879, 880. Whitelocke, p. 37.

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believed that its continuance in the northern parts of the kingdom would afford them many advantages in prosecuting their schemes of innovation, would embarrass the King, and would enable them even to resist his measures. They accordingly expressed their dissatisfaction with the epithet of rebels, which had been applied to the forces of the covenanters, and censured one of their members who had used that appellation. *

After having gone through the usual forms, Pym, a leader of the popular party, delivered a memorable speech upon the removal of grievances, and in successive meetings, many of the members attacked the abuses of ecclesiastical power, insisting upon such modifications of it as alarmed the firm adherents of the hierarchy. The indignation of the people was chiefly directed against Strafford, to whom they attributed the tyrannical measures of the court, and against Archbishop Laud, whom they detested for his severity to the Puritans; and both these distinguished characters were soon impeached as enemies to the nation. †

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 58. Baillie, Vol. I. 218, and 220, 221.

† Rushworth's Collections, Vol. III. 2d edition, London, 1700, contain a [illegible] account of Strafford's trial. See the same work, Vol. II. Part iii. p. 1337—60, for the speeches shewing a determination to [illegible] the church, and p. 1365—70, for the articles of accusation against Laud. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 139, and 141. Collier, Vol. II. [illegible] Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 75, 76.

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1640 Nov. Scotish Commissioners come to London.

No time was lost by the Scotch in renewing the treaty. The Earls of Rothes, Loudon, and Dunfermline, with the other commissioners who had been named, hastened to London, and they took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, both to gratify the zealous churchmen who guided the people, and to disseminate in the metropolis the principles of presbyterian polity.* This conduct was highly blameable. Had their sole motive been that they might themselves have an opportunity of worshipping God in the mode which they deemed most consistent with pure religion, they would have merited the praise due to sincerity; but, protected as they were by the sovereign, they were not entitled, whilst negociating a treaty, to stir discontents amongst his other subjects, and to endeavour, by what in ordinary times would have been punished as sedition, to subvert the ecclesiastical constitution of England, with which they had no concern. The King therefore had certainly reason to complain, that, in as far as their interference spread hostility to episcopacy, he was injured or betrayed.

Their reception.

When they reached London, they were welcomed in a manner gratifying to their feelings as men, and to their hopes as tenderly concerned for the happiness of their country. A house was appropriated

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 215. This writer mentions, that the ministers chosen were taken for different purposes, and that the office of Gillespie, one of the number, was to be, to cry down the English ceremonies. Baillie himself attended the commissioners.

for their residence, a church was assigned to them for their devotions, and multitudes crowded to listen to their preachers, who strenuously inculcated the tenets, which, from delicacy and duty, they should not have publicly enforced. *

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Upon their arrival, parliament appointed some who were favourable to their pretensions for managing the negociation; and they repaid this obligation by joining in the prosecution of Strafford, and

Objects which they had in view.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 218. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 150, 151. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 184. I quote this writer here, chiefly to express my regret at the contemptuous manner in which he has spoken of this subject, and generally to disapprove of that want of reverence for religion, which is conspicuous through his whole work. It is always to be lamented, when talents are pressed into the service of infidelity, or when, from any cause, a writer so respectable as Mr Laing, has been led to adopt a style, which must impress many of his readers with the conviction, that he looked upon religion rather as a matter of ridicule than of argument. I quote a few of his expressions upon which the above remarks are founded. "The conflux and insatiate resort of the people who clung to the windows when excluded from the door, to inhale the sanctified tone and provincial accents of a barbarous preacher, (a very erroneous account of Henderson) has been justly ascribed to the fanatical spirit that began to predominate, which rendered them apt recipients for the fumes of devotion." This, to say the least of it, is very unsuitable to the dignity of history. A little below he adds: "Such is the intolerant genius of religion." If he meant to assert that all religion is intolerant, he must have forgotten the discourses of our Saviour, and St Paul's inimitably beautiful description of charity. If he meant to characterize the religion of that period, which was indeed lamentably intolerant, he should have done so without using the ambiguous, or I am afraid, the not ambiguous language which I have transcribed.

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particularly by advancing various specific charges against Laud, as having unwarrantably interfered with the religion of Scotland, and introduced into the church of that kingdom, ceremonies and practices which the people at large abhorred as the abominations of Popery. *

They renew the treaty.

The matter of the projected treaty was immediately taken under consideration; but to guard against the inference that Scotland depended upon England, the Scotish commissioners thought it necessary to make upon this point an explicit declaration. † They comprehended their demands in eight articles. Several of these related to political arrangements, which fall not within the province of this history; but those respecting ecclesiastical polity it is necessary to insert. They required, as a fundamental concession, that his Majesty should be graciously pleased to publish in his name the acts of their last parliament, and to declare the validity and the lawfulness of that parliament. This article included in it the complete subversion of episcopacy, and the full establishment of presbytery, as founded on the word of God. The King felt respecting the article much uneasiness, both from its striking at his own sentiments in favour of the hierarchy, and from his

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 151. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 219, and 223, 224. Franklyn's Annals, p. 897, 898. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 75. 76. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1370—1373. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 39.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 221. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 364.

perceiving that it might be urged to justify innovations in the church of England, which he was determined to resist. The Marquis of Hamilton, however, eagerly besought him to conciliate the covenanters as a check upon the English parliament; and he at length promised, on the word of a King, that the acts passed at the last meeting of the Scotish estates, and those to be passed at a subsequent meeting, should in all time coming have the force of laws. * CHAP. XVII. 1640. Dec. 30.

It was also demanded by the Scotish commissioners, that whosoever should be found, upon trial, by either of the parliaments, to have been the authors of the late and present troubles, should be liable to censure and sentence of the said parliaments respectively,—the English delinquents to the parliament of England, and the Scotch to that of Scotland. The import of this demand Charles at once perceived, and indeed no anxiety was shewn to conceal the views of those by whom it was made. It had for its object to secure the condemnation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Earl of Strafford, and to place all in Scotland who had supported the royal cause at the mercy of their enemies. The honour of the King was deeply concerned in not surrendering to difficulties or to suffering, those who had cordially assisted him; and, with the

* Franklyn's Annals, p. 398. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 181. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 221, 222.

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virtuous feelings which, in many parts of his conduct, seem to have influenced him, he made a more steady resistance to the sacrifice of his friends than he had done to the invasion of his prerogative. To prevent the request from being urged, he condescended to hold private conferences with the commissioners, with several of the Scotish nobility, and particularly with the Earl of Rothes, whose influence to the court was rapidly diminishing. His desire that the matter should be referred to himself was without hesitation resisted; but the subject was again discussed when the act of oblivion came under consideration, and something was conceded for his gratification. They limited the number against whom the Scotish parliament was to proceed to the Earl of Traquair, the Bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Sir John Hay, and Balcanqual, the author of the Large Declaration; and they consented, that, although processes should go on against these individuals, their censure should be remitted to the King, as the nation would be satisfied by his assurance that he should not, without consent of parliament, again employ them in the management of public affairs. *

Treaty protracted.

Had the parts of the treaty which have now been mentioned solely occupied the attention of those

* Franklyn's Annals, p. 899. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 182. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 224 and 228. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part vi. p. 370—372.

who framed it, it would have been soon concluded; but it comprehended a demand which occasioned considerable discussion, and produced a great effect upon the state of the public mind in both kingdoms. The commissioners for Scotland insisted, that reparation should be made for the vast charges which had been incurred in conducting the war. This would probably have excited in the English parliament universal indignation, had it not been conceived as of great importance to gain the Scotish army, and prevent it from engaging in the cause of the King. Yet, even with this impression, many of the patriotic members were reluctant to impose burdens upon the people, for defraying the expence of a war into which the Scotch had voluntarily entered for securing their own privileges, and in the prosecution of which they had taken possession of the northern parts of England. When the account of the commissioners was presented, by which they claimed upwards of half a million, even their most zealous friends were filled with amazement; but it was at length resolved that three hundred thousand pounds should be given for the relief and assistance of their brethren in Scotland. This sum was gratefully accepted, and thanks were returned by the commissioners, both for the aid, and for the title of brethren, which had been conferred on their countrymen. The intelligence was received by the great body of covenanters with the utmost delight, whilst it spread consternation amongst the friends

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of the King, who naturally apprehended that such a sum would not have been given, had there not been a private understanding that the English parliament might, in the event of taking arms against the King, depend upon those troops which they had flattered and rewarded. *

But, after all preliminary points were adjusted, the great object of settling a peace between the two kingdoms had yet to be accomplished; and the English parliament required the commissioners from Scotland to state the terms upon which they were willing to agree that such a peace should take place. In the discussions connected with this interesting subject, they shewed those sentiments respecting ecclesiastical polity which the discontented part of their countrymen had lately adopted. At the commencement of the troubles, the great object of the covenanters had been to procure amongst themselves the establishment of presbytery; but they gradually extended their views, and at length came to consider it as a sacred duty to contend that this form of church-government should be received through the whole of Britain. Of this opinion the commissioners, and the ministers who accompanied them, shewed their approbation, even in the course of their journey to London. One of them, in his confidential corre-

* Franklyn's Annals, p. 900. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 269. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 169. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 240. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 83. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 40.

spondence, has mentioned, that they heard sermon upon a Lord's day in an English church, but he carefully remarks, that he and his friends did not join the congregation till the service was ended,—imagining that they evinced the purity of their faith by refusing to listen to prayers, the excellence of which the first reformers, whom they professed to revere, readily admitted, and which contain sentiments and expressions of devotion by which the heart of every good man may be made better. * 1641.

When they were established in the metropolis, they encouraged the party bent upon the extirpation of prelacy,—represented the persons who composed it as much more respectable than those who were against the removal of the order of bishops,—and it was generally believed that they revised and enforced that celebrated remonstrance against episcopacy, addressed to parliament, and which was known by the name of the Root and Branch Petition. † As their treaty advanced, they became gradually more and more explicit in the avowal of their sentiments. They not only expressed the warmest satisfaction at the petitions which were daily presented against the hierarchy, associating with those who formed them, and using the most indecent language when they spoke of the prelates, but they took an active

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 216.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 220 and 224, 225. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 161. Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 39.

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1641. part in the controversy. Henderson wrote a short treatise recommending the ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland; Gillespie defended the presbyterian government; and various other papers having the same end were composed and circulated. Not satisfied even with this degree of zeal, intemperate as it was, they, under pretence of refuting a calumny that they were relaxing in their enmity to the primate, and to episcopacy, wrote with so much passion, that the Earl of Bristol, partial as he was to them, expressed his displeasure at their finding fault with the constitution of the English church, and pressed them not to insist upon what was foreign to the object of their mission. This advice they disregarded; the paper which they had incautiously written they persisted should be given to the king; who, irritated at their violent interference, so contrary to what he conceived to be their duty, told them that they had forfeited the privileges which he had consented that they should enjoy. *

March 10. Keeping, however, their favourite scheme steadily in view, they insisted, as essential to peace, that there should be in the two British nations unity of religion and uniformity of church government. What they meant by this could not be doubted; but

* Baillie, who was present, may be relied upon as sufficient authority for what he states, Vol. I. p. 248. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 182. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 78.

the King, availing himself of the general language which they had used, returned this guarded answer: "His Majesty, with the advice of both houses of parliament, doth approve of the affection of his subjects in Scotland, and, as the parliament hath already taken into consideration the reformation of church-government, so they will proceed in due time, as shall best conduce to the glory of God and the peace of the church, and of these kingdoms." * 1641.

Treaty concluded.

The difficulties which occurred in the course of the negotiation having been at length surmounted, the treaty was concluded; the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline carried to Scotland the most important articles; it was subscribed in the beginning of August, and both the armies were immediately disbanded. † 7th Aug.

The King determines to visit Scotland.

Whilst the Scotish commissioners were urging their claims, the King discerned in the English parliament a spirit of resistance which he in vain attempted to subdue. The prerogative was daily more and more circumscribed; some of the most important rights of the crown were wrested from it; parliament was made independent of the sovereign; and although episcopacy was not yet abolished, the remonstrances against it were readily received, and such resolutions were formed for abridg-

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 368.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 184. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 83. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 47. Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 321.

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ing the dignity and the privileges of the bishops, as plainly shewed that it would soon share the same fate which it had done in Scotland. Under these circumstances, Charles determined to visit his native kingdom, probably in the hope that he might either attach his Scotish subjects to his cause, or secure their neutrality in that civil war which even thus early he must have expected. His intention excited in the popular faction suspicion and alarm; they petitioned that the armies might be disbanded before he commenced his journey; and they sent a deputation to the approaching meeting of the states in Scotland, under pretence of respect, but really to watch their sovereign, and to give notice of any measures which threatened to dissolve the union between them and the adherents of the covenant. *

General Assembly. 20th July.

After the matter of the treaty between the two kingdoms had been settled, though before it was signed, the General Assembly met at St Andrews, but immediately transferred itself to Edinburgh, that the noblemen who attended the meeting of parliament might have an opportunity of being present, and that Henderson, who had now returned from London, might, at this critical period, be elected moderator. The Earl of Wemyss was nominated by his Majesty as commissioner; and he presented to the Assembly a letter from the King, in which, after

July 10.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 182. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 327. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 170 and 292, and 375, 376. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 219, 220, and 235.

professing his devoted attachment to the reformed religion, he declared his intention to ratify and confirm, in the approaching parliament, the constitutions of the late Assembly at Edinburgh, that they might be obeyed by all his subjects in Scotland, and to fill the churches in the patronage of the crown with ministers properly qualified; expressed his dread of the decay of learning in the Scotish church and kingdom, and promised that he should consider the best means for helping schools and colleges, especially of divinity, that there might be such a number of preachers as that every parish, even in the most remote parts of the kingdom, might have a minister, and enjoy the preaching of the gospel. In return for these gracious designs, he only required that they would be faithful in the charge committed to them, caring for the souls of their people; that they would study peace and unity among themselves, and amongst the people against all schism and faction; and that they would not only pray for him, but teach their people to do so, who, he trusted, were not unwilling to pay that honour and obedience which they owed unto him as the vicegerent of God set over them for their good. The answer to this communication was in the warmest strain of loyalty, strikingly shewing how little, in times of faction, we can infer from men's professions what will be their conduct. The members of Assembly declared that his Majesty's letter had filled their hearts with joy and their mouths with praise; that

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they would fervently offer their prayers for his happiness; that they would labour to preserve peace and tranquillity, "that they might be an example to others in paying that honour which by all laws, divine and human, is due unto your sacred Majesty; being confident that your Majesty shall find, at your coming hither, much more satisfaction and content than can be expressed by us." *

This answer was written under the influence of those feelings excited by the triumph of the presbyterian church. It had been the original design of the King to have one ecclesiastical polity throughout the island. For that purpose he strengthened the hands of the Scotish bishops, and violently attacked the opinions or prejudices of those over whom they were placed; but he had been compelled to yield to the principles which he had intended to extirpate; and he had pledged himself to sanction, as agreeable to the word of God, the establishment of presbytery; connecting this establishment with a degree of civil liberty which endeared it to the great majority of the community. This was to the ministers, and most naturally, matter of the highest satisfaction; and, delivered from the fears by which they had long been disquieted, they yielded to that mo-

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1641, p. 23, 24, and 34. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 299, 300. Speaking of his Majesty's letter, he says it was as full of grace and favour as we could have wished; and he denominates the answer, which was composed by Henderson "that short, decised, and nervous answer."

mentary enthusiasm of loyalty, which, in their address to the King they strongly expressed. But they shewed, in their supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, the same views which were taken by their commissioners in London, and began a system which had the most powerful effect upon the political and the religious state of Britain.

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There was delivered to the Assembly a letter from some ministers in England, in which, after mentioning how intimately connected the two churches of Britain were, these divines requested advice upon a most important subject. "Almighty God," they wrote, "having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of episcopacy (under which we have so long groaned) sundry other forms of church-government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." They particularly specified that system of independency which assumes that every separate congregation is a complete church, having all the powers requisite for conducting the spiritual concerns of its members; and they requested that the General Assembly would deliver their opinion upon this system, more especially, they added, "as some famous and eminent brethren amongst yourselves do somewhat incline unto an approbation of that way of government." To this letter a reply was immediately sent, in which they declared, that they took the most tender interest in the situation of what they

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styled the Kirk of England; expressed their satisfaction that the episcopal hierarchy was brought near to its period, and decided in favour of presbytery, though with an allowance for independency which was soon after withdrawn. But the most striking part of the letter is the language held respecting the near connection of the two churches. "We have learned by long experience, ever since the time of the reformation, and specially after the two kingdoms have been (in the great goodness of God to both) united under one head and monarch, but most of all of late, which is not unknown to you, what danger and contagion in matters of kirk-government, of divine worship, and of doctrine may come from one kirk to the other, which beside all other reasons make us pray to God, and to desire you and all that love the honour of Christ and the peace of these kirkes and kingdoms, heartily to endeavour that there might be in both kirks one confession, one directory for public worship, one catechism, and one form of kirk-government. And if the Lord, who hath done great things for us, shall be pleased to hearken unto our desires, and to accept of our endeavours, we shall not only have a sure foundation for a permanent peace, but shall be strong in God against the rising and spreading of heresy and schism amongst ourselves, and of invasion from foraine enemies." *

* Printed Acts of Assembly 1641, p. 29—33.

It is evident from this, that the members of Assembly were most desirous for uniformity in church-government throughout Britain; that this was already the subject of their prayers; and that in promoting it they would consider themselves engaged in a sacred cause, to which loyalty might be innocently or laudably sacrificed. That the attempts to which they alluded would be ultimately made, they could not doubt, for they were well aware, that the King was steadily and conscientiously attached to episcopacy; considered it, to use the language of their brethren who had been in London, as the very apple of his eye, and that he had told both houses of parliament, at a conference to which he had invited them, that he would never permit the state of bishops to be put down, or to be removed from parliament. * Indeed, the very circumstance of the Assembly entering upon this delicate subject, was a clear indication that they were contemplating future resistance; for had they been completely satisfied with their original object, the establishment of presbytery in their own country, they would have declined doing any thing in their official capacity hostile to the church of England, as it was then constituted, or calculated to increase the embarrassment of their sovereign, to whom they were now making the strongest professions of reverence and obedience.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 236, and 248.

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1641. Private Acts of Assembly.

A great portion of the time of the Assembly was occupied in private arrangements for giving security and efficacy to the new establishment; and in most of their measures where the spirit of party, or the contracting influence of bigotry did not guide them, they displayed much prudence, and the justest sentiments respecting the interesting ends which every church should strive to accomplish. The dispute about private meetings for prayer and religious instruction, which had been agitated at Aberdeen, was resumed, and the keenness with which the most eminent divines espoused different sides, threatened for a moment not only to interrupt harmony, but to introduce independency. It was at length however agreed, to frame an act against impiety and schism, in which the practice of assembling for mutual edification, instruction, and admonition, is recognized; but the people are enjoined to conduct them with the utmost circumspection, lest they excite the derision of the ungodly on the one hand, and lead to schism (for the terror of schism already haunted these strenuous advocates for their own religious freedom) on the other. As this latter evil was the one which was most dreaded, they are more explicit with regard to it; exhorting all in the fear of God to be aware, and spiritually wise, that they might avoid all meetings which were apt to breed error, scandal, schism, neglect of duties and particular callings, and such other evils as are the works, not of the spirit, but of the flesh, and

are contrary to truth and peace. So far the ordinance is unexceptionable. It is the duty of every church to point out to those who profess to be within its communion, what it believes to be the truth, that they may not err for want of instruction; but beyond this no church should ever go. Freedom of opinion should not be shackled, and every man, after he has been furnished with the information requisite for forming his judgment, should be permitted, without censure or punishment, to form it,—full liberty being granted to him to join that society of Christians in which the tenets espoused by him are received and inculcated. But the Assembly, although not so illiberal as the covenanters afterwards became, did not entertain enlarged notions of toleration, and they concluded the act with an injunction, that the presbyteries and synods should take order with such as transgressed. *

The King had recommended the advancement of learning, and this, it should be mentioned to the high honour of the presbyterian church, it never cast out of view. Far from adopting the enthusiastical tenets which represent human science as opposite to divine, inculcating that God, by the illumination of his spirit in a miraculous way qualifies the most ignorant for the work of the ministry, its

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1641, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 301, 302. He concludes his account by saying, "This happy concord will, we trust, be a great blessing to the whole land, which every where began to be fashed with idle toys."

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most distinguished members at all times shewed the utmost ardour in the cause of knowledge. The compilers of the first Book of Discipline made the most judicious regulations respecting universities; and few meetings of the General Assembly took place without something being suggested for the promotion of literature. In this Assembly, a number of overtures or proposals were recommended to the ensuing parliament. As these illustrate what has now been stated, and contain suggestions, the adoption of which, even at the present day, might have a beneficial effect upon literary speculation, they merit in a work of this nature to be inserted. "1. Because the good estate both of the church and commonwealth dependeth mainly from the flourishing of universities and colleges as the seminaries of both, which cannot be expected, unless the poor means which they have be helped, and sufficient revenues be provided for them, and the same be well employed; therefore, that out of the rents of prelacies, collegiate or chapter churches, or such like, a sufficient maintenance be provided for a competent number of professors, teachers, and bursers, in all faculties, and especially in divinity, and for upholding, repairing, and enlarging the fabric of the colleges, furnishing libraries, and such like good uses in every university and college. 2. Next, for keeping of good order, preventing and removing of abuses, and promoting of piety and learning, it is very needful and expedient that there be a commu-

nion and correspondence kept betwixt all the universities and colleges; and therefore, that it be ordained, that there be a meeting once every year, at such times and places as shall be agreed upon, of commissioners from every university and college, to consult and determine upon the common affairs, and whatsoever may concern them, for the ends above specified, and who also, or some of their number, may represent what shall be needful and expedient for the same effect, to parliaments and assemblies. Lastly, that special care be had that the places of professors, especially of professors of divinity in every university, be filled with the ablest men, and best affected to the order and reformation of this kirk." *

The King arrives in Scotland, and addresses Parliament. 14th Aug. and 19th.

The King arrived in Edinburgh about the middle of August, and soon after delivered to the estates, which had for some time been assembled, a speech, in which he intimated his designs respecting Scotland. After lamenting the differences which had taken place between him and his subjects, and expressing his sincere love for his native kingdom, he said, that the end of his coming was to perfect whatever he had promised, and to quiet the distractions which had fallen out, or might fall out amongst them; adding, "This I mind to do, not superficially, but fully and cheerfully; for I assure you, I can

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1641, p. 26. Baillie's Journal of Assembly, 1641, in Vol. I. of his Letters, p. 309. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 83, 84.

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do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people general satisfaction. Wherefore, not offering to endear myself by words, (which indeed is not my way) I desire, in the first place, to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act." * During the whole of his residence in Scotland, he acted in conformity to these professions, and made every effort to conciliate the covenanters. He, in the most ample manner, ratified the acts respecting the church which established presbytery; he employed Henderson, the most popular of the ministers, to officiate as his chaplain; he suspended the use of the liturgy, attended divine worship in presbyterian churches, and in consequence of a rebuke for his not appearing in the afternoon, readily consented to be present whenever the congregation assembled. To all the arrangements suggested with regard to the prerogative, he also agreed. The secret-council were invested with powers to administer the government, and to act during the interval of parliament as conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms; all the officers of state were to be nominated by parliament; and he conferred upon the chief of the covenanters the highest honours, creating the Earl of Ar-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 218. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 84. MS account of the proceedings of the Parliament, 1641. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 382. Spalding's History of the troubles in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 318, 319.

gyll a marquis, and Lesly, the general, Earl of Leven. To several of the ministers he gave liberal pensions, and he augmented the revenues of the universities. This unlimited compliance filled the presbyterians with the highest satisfaction; they eagerly declared their gratitude and attachment to a sovereign who had shewn such tender concern for the best interests of his people; they renewed an old statute, denouncing it as damnable treason for any of the Scotish nation to levy forces upon any pretence whatever, without the King's commission; they assured him in private, that when the minds of men had become calmer, they should repeal what had been unreasonably extorted from him; and, when he was about to leave the kingdom, the Earl of Loudon, in name of the nobility, and Sir Thomas Hope, in name of the barons and gentlemen, congratulated him upon his having given them full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty, so that now a contented King was to depart from a contented country. On the same night he entertained all the nobility, and next day he commenced his journey. * CHAP. XVII. 1641. Aug. Nov.

It is impossible to review the proceedings of this parliament without perceiving that the original schemes of those who opposed the King were now

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 243—245. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 84—92. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 784. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 325—329. Franklyn's Annals, p. 902—904. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 383—385.

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completed, and that not only was the polity of the church modulated in conformity to the wishes of the people, but such a degree of civil liberty was engrafted upon the political constitution, as might have secured Scotland against the return of that tyranny which the family of Stewart delighted to exercise. Some of the regulations indeed struck at the very existence of the monarchy, leaving the sovereign only the shadow of royalty; but had not new commotions exasperated the passions, and inflamed the bigotry of the covenanters, these regulations would, in all probability, have been modified, and a government nearly similar to that under which we now live, might have been established. With all the errors which the estates committed, we may consider them as having at this time set an example of zeal for liberty, which, under more favourable circumstances, was happily followed, and which led at the Revolution to that admirably balanced system of government, the value of which the history of the world daily illustrates.

Discontent not removed.

But, although the utmost apparent harmony prevailed in Scotland, there occurred during his Majesty's residence in that kingdom, events which plainly shewed, that the seeds of turbulence or of opposition were not eradicated. The vehemence displayed in the proceedings against the incendiaries, men in whose fate the King was deeply interested; the removal from the Court of Session of all the judges who had favoured the court; the agi-

tation excited by the obscure plot against Hamilton and Argyll, in which it was represented, that the King was implicated, and which became peculiarly important from its effect upon the English parliament; the steps taken against Montrose and some of his friends, who, upon suspicion of improper correspondence with Charles, had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and had received the odious appellation of plotters;—all evinced, that the minds of men were distracted by fear and suspicion; whilst the keenness with which the ministers entered into whatever could be construed as indicating the slightest insincerity in the King, and their ardour for extending the dominion of presbytery, shewed that the spring of the commotions had neither lost its vigour, nor received a new direction. * 1641.

Oct. Irish massacre.

During the period of his Majesty's stay in Scotland, the horrible massacre of the Protestants in Ireland took place,—an event disgraceful to human nature, and awfully illustrating the sad influence of superstition over the human mind. Into the particulars of this dismal transaction, it is not necessary in this work to enter; but it is proper to allude to it, because, although the King heard of it with the

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 184—187. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 421, 422. Franklyn's Annals, p. 903. Baillie, Vol. p. 330—332. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 86, 87, and 90. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 236, 237. Memoirs of Montrose, p. 8. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 206—209. This writer's explanation of the plot, though ingenious, is far from satisfactory.

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abhorrence of a virtuous mind, it was in the violence of party zeal ascribed to the Queen; and it was surmised, not without the most prejudicial effect upon his interest, that Charles was accessory to it, and was privately not dissatisfied that the attention of his British subjects should thus be withdrawn from the topics upon which it had long been fixed. *

Charles returns to London. 25th Nov.

Upon his Majesty's return to London, he was welcomed with every expression of loyalty; he was sumptuously entertained by the magistrates; and he repaid this mark of respect, by inviting the chief citizens to Hampton Court, and conferring upon several of them the honour of knighthood. †

Violence of the English parliament.

These hollow testimonies of reverence were, however, soon succeeded by the most decisive proofs, that parliament, far from having relaxed in zeal for the redress of grievances, had resolved to deprive him of what had always been considered as the constitutional privileges of the sovereign. Alarmed at the union which was reported to subsist between the King and the Scotish estates, the popular leaders conceived it requisite to keep alive in England the spirit of sedition and discontent; and they procured the appointment of a committee to prepare a remonstrance, specifying every act of the Sove-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 237—239. Franklyn's Annals, p. 903. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 193. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 98. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 335. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 47, 48.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 50.]

reign since his accession which they branded as an infringement upon the liberties of the people. This remonstrance, containing two hundred and six articles, was presented to his Majesty, and was immediately printed;—a violation of the established usages of parliament, and an affront to the King, of which, with much reason, he bitterly complained. The language of the remonstrance, and a petition which accompanied it, praying him to concur in depriving the bishops of their votes in the legislature, and in other measures which were known to be most offensive to him, at once unfolded the extent of their designs, and left little room to doubt that the points at issue would be determined only by the sword. Against the bishops they immediately proceeded with the most unrelenting and illegal severity; and the flame thus excited was dreadfully increased by his Majesty's injudicious resolution to seize five of the most popular members of parliament;—a resolution which he was unable to execute, and which called forth, in the most indecent manner, the fury of the populace. Demand upon demand now pressed upon him; his efforts to attach to him the inhabitants of the metropolis failed; and, alarmed for the safety of himself and of his family, he adopted the hasty and fatal purpose of leaving Whitehall, thus putting the faction with which he had to struggle in possession of an advantage which he never could regain. *

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* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 254—297. Franklyn's Annals, p. 904—

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1642. Interference of the Scotish commissioners. 15th Jan.

Whilst these events were passing in England, it became apparent that there would be in Scotland little disposition to assist the King. Although the leading covenanters, in consequence of the favours and the honours which had been conferred on them, preserved some appearance of moderation, the sentiments of the people, which were in unison with theirs, were loudly expressed. Far from being satisfied with what had been done amongst themselves, they insisted upon pressing reformation in England,—they censured even Henderson for the calmness with which he heard or checked their resolution,—and threatened to promote their object by the same tumultuary violence with which they had resisted the rites and ceremonies which they abhorred.* Nothing is more lamentable than the inconsistency which has almost constantly marked the conduct of the different religious sects which have struggled for victory. The presbyterians convincingly argued against the injustice and cruelty of imposing episcopacy upon a nation averse from embracing it. Yet they now imitated the example which they had reprobated, and, with the most melancholy self-delusion, prepared to wrest from those who revered the hierarchy, the privilege of worshipping God agreeably to the form which it prescribed. What-

908. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 51—54. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 438—450, and p. 484.

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 94.

ever beneficial consequences, therefore, resulted to the great cause of freedom from the union and the attempts of the covenanters, they must be regarded, in so far as their religious principles were concerned, as acting in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the maxims of the reformers; and their vehement complaints against the church of England are entitled to as little attention as the contemptuous aspersions which the zealots for prelacy, even at the present day, cast upon every form of ecclesiastical polity different from their own. CHAP. XVII. 1642.

That the language of the multitude in Scotland was not merely the dictate of ignorant zeal, but was countenanced by the most eminent of the laity, and warmly commended by the great majority of the ministers, admits not of a doubt; and this soon was rendered evident, by the part taken by the representatives of the Scotish nation, who had been sent to London to arrange the measures to be adopted for checking the Irish rebellion, and punishing the enormities by which it had been marked. Far from keeping aloof from the unhappy dissensions between the King and the two houses of parliament, they not only, under pretence of mediation, interfered, but they secretly intrigued with the party most hostile to the court, urging the destruction of episcopacy, and the substitution of presbytery. In a representation or petition to his Majesty, they told him that the liberties of England and Scotland must stand or fall together; they attributed the distractions which they affected to lament, to the 15th Jan.

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1642. plots of papists and prelates, whose aim had been to subvert the purity and truth of religion; and they concluded with the ungracious counsel, that he would have recourse to the faithful advices of parliament, which would not only quiet the minds of his English subjects, but remove the jealousies and fears which might possess the hearts of his subjects in his other dominions. To the parliament they used very different language. To it, they, in a paper of the same date with that submitted to the King, returned thanks for the assistance given to the kingdom of Scotland in settling their late troubles, and now, by way of return, and to discharge the trust reposed in them, they offered their mediation, beseeching the houses to consider of the fairest and most likely methods to compose the differences in church and state. The King was much offended at this deviation from the purpose of their mission; he stated the most powerful reasons against their interference; he issued a peremptory order that they should not engage in the present dissensions without previously communicating with him; and he dispatched a letter to the chancellor of Scotland, in which he mentioned the officiousness of the commissioners, and conveyed his wish that the council would in future restrain them from what might aggravate evils sufficiently formidable. *

19th Jan.

26th Jan.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 188—191. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 498—501. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 97, 98.

The English parliament, on the other hand, returned thanks to the commissioners for their representations; prayed that they would continue their endeavours to remove the distractions which agitated the kingdom; and sent letters to Scotland to gain the support of the most active of the covenanters. * 1642.

The King arrives at York. March 19.

Matters were now fast approaching to a civil war. Unable to satisfy the commons by concessions, and convinced that the idea of securing general freedom was sunk in the anxiety of the popular leaders to procure for themselves the power to which they aspired, his Majesty determined to remove farther from London, and to consent to none of the proposals made to him by the houses, excepting what related to Ireland, till he knew the extent of their demands. He arrived at York about the middle of March, and he every day saw that he had more reason to apprehend that he could save his prerogative only by the sword. †

He is disobeyed by the governor of Hull. 23d April.

An incident soon occurred which fully unveiled the hostile designs of the parliament. The magazines at Hull were amply supplied with military stores, and Charles was naturally solicitous that these should be secured for his service. He accordingly, with his usual train, went to that town;

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part i. p. 501. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 519.

† Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 326 and 357, 361. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 57. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 98.

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but Sir John Hotham, the governor, refused to admit him, and justified his conduct by the instructions which he had received from the houses.* This may be considered as the first indication of resistance, and as rendering it necessary for the Scotch to decide in what manner they were now to act.

The Scotch disposed to support the Parliament.

The King shewed the utmost anxiety to gain their affections and support. When it was determined to send over an army from Scotland to extinguish the Irish rebellion, he named the officers from those who were most beloved by the people, a measure which ultimately proved fatal to his interest, and he offered to accompany the army, that he might assist in punishing men who had violated every dictate of humanity and religion. This proposal filled the English with alarm, and in that alarm the Scotch participated. The council accordingly joined with the parliament in petitioning him to lay aside his design, pretending to be afraid for his personal safety, but really apprehensive, that, by placing himself at the head of his troops, he might attach them to him, and thus be enabled to resist the plans of reformation. Various attempts were made by the covenanters to put an end to the differences between his Majesty and his English subjects, after

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 396—398. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 57. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 99. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 337. Life of Colonel Hutchison.

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1642. May.

it must have been apparent that success could not be expected; and they at length sent the Earl of Loudon to York to offer his mediation. The offer was indignantly rejected; the King detailed to the chancellor all which had passed between himself and the two houses, and ordered him to return to Scotland to communicate to the council how matters really stood. *

Loudon faithfully obeyed the injunctions of his sovereign, and immediately, upon his return, summoned an assembly of the nobles and other members of the council. To this meeting the public attention was anxiously directed. Many suspected that it was inclined to favour the royal cause, and rumours of a plot against Argyll were, to irritate the people, industriously circulated. Multitudes hastened to the metropolis, and, guided by their ministers, presented a petition, that nothing should be enacted prejudicial to the work of reformation, and to the treaty of union between the two nations. This was received with apparent gratitude and admiration, and any wish to befriend the King was thus frustrated. † About this period, the most unfavourable surmises, respecting the intentions of his Majesty, were widely disseminated in Scotland. The

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 192—194. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 99. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 337.

† Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 338. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 100. Sanderson's History of Charles I. p. 517. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 59.

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1642. Marquis of Hamilton, who, although suspected by the zealous courtiers, still possessed the confidence of his master, and who, despairing of affairs in England, had solicited permission to visit his own country, exerted himself to enlighten the people with regard to the views of Charles, and to give a different direction to public opinion. He proposed that the Queen, who, soon after the King's leaving Whitehall, had gone abroad, should be invited by the Scotch to revisit Britain, and to use her influence in restoring tranquillity; hoping that if she were recalled, the party who had done so would, in honour, support her mediation. *

July.

General Assembly. July 27. The General Assembly, from the proceedings of which the temper of the nation can be clearly discovered, met at St Andrews. The Earl of Dunfermline, who had been appointed commissioner, delivered a letter from the King, in which, after alluding to the distracted state of the kingdom, he expressed his resolution to support the presbyterian church in Scotland; appealed to the acts which he had sanctioned when in that country, as affording them ground to expect from him whatever he could in justice grant, or it was expedient for them to receive; informed them, that he had instructed his commissioner to attend to their reasonable desires, for what might further promote the good of reli-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 327. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 194, 196. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 100, 101. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 338.

gion ; and concluded with this address to the clergy: "And now what do we again require of you, but that which otherwise you owe to us, as your Sovereign Lord and King, even that ye pray for our prosperity and the peace of our kingdoms ; that ye use the best means to keep our people in obedience to us and our laws, which doth very much, in our personal absence from that our kingdom, depend upon your preaching, and your own exemplary loyalty and faithfulness ; and that against all such jealousies, suspicions, and sinister rumours, as are too frequent in these times, and have been often falsified in time past by the reality of the contrary events." *

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Soon after the meeting, there was submitted to the Assembly a declaration from the English parliament, which influenced the future proceedings, and which accounts for the answer to the King, and for the measures adopted respecting the political and religious state of the kingdom. The parliament, anxious to gain the Scotch, and fully aware that this could be done only by avowing hostility to episcopacy, assured the Assembly that they were zealous for a due reformation in church and state ; attributed the obstacles with which they had to struggle to the malignant efforts of papists, and of corrupt and dissolute clergy, instigated by the bishops and others, whose avarice and ambition could

Full account of its proceedings.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1642, p. 1, 2.

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not bear the proposed reformation, and expressed their confidence that they should so settle matters as to increase the glory of God by the advancement of true religion, and by such reformation of the church as shall be most agreeable to God's word.

3d Aug. Communications to the parliament and to the King.

In the answer which was immediately returned, all that illiberal enmity to prelacy which had been gradually acquiring strength, was avowed; the necessity of establishing uniformity in ecclesiastical polity, in worship, and in doctrine, was pointed out, and the propriety of introducing presbytery was explicitly stated. "What hope," they ask, "can the kingdom and kirk of Scotland have of a desirable peace, till prelacy, which hath been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruits can be expected than such sour grapes as this day set on edge the kingdom of England?" and that their object in removing what they called the prelatical hierarchy might not be mistaken, they declare that the work will be easy, without forcing of any conscience, to settle in England the government of the reformed kirks by assemblies. *

In these views they were confirmed by a letter from some ministers in England, in which it was asserted, that the desire of the most godly and con-

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1642, p. 11—16. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 162, 163. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 344. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 196. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 387—390.

siderate part amongst them was, that the presbyterian government, which had just and evident foundation, both in the word of God and in religious reason, should be established, and that there should be one public catechism, and one form of polity. To this the assembly joyfully replied, that the whole national kirk was so much concerned in that unity and reformation of religion, that without it they could not hope long to enjoy their purity and peace; and they expressed their conviction that the prayers and the endeavours of the godly in both kingdoms, would bring the work to a wished and blessed issue. Following out this conviction, they, in a supplication to the King, after shortly thanking him for his gracious communication, introduced the subject of church-government; referred to a clause in the late treaty, in which he stated it to be his desire that there should be uniformity; informed him, that, in their answer to the declaration from the two houses, they had pressed this point, and insinuated their expectation that he would join in securing its accomplishment. They chose Lord Maitland, who had uniformly acted with the covenanters, to present the supplication, and to carry their address to the parliament; they wrote to the commissioners, who were then in London, to omit no lawful method of gaining the end in view; and, to give greater weight to these various representations, they petitioned the Privy-Council and the Conservators of the peace to support them with their influence.

CHAP. XVII. 1642. Aug.

But they did not conceive that they had even yet done all which it was in their power to do for advancing so glorious a cause. To keep the zeal of the populace in all its vehemence, they passed an act, requiring all ministers to remember in their public prayers the desires of the assembly to the King and parliament; they appointed a fast, to implore that God would bless their exertions for unity and uniformity, and for every where advancing the kingdom of Christ. That, after the dissolution of the assembly, there might be no relaxation of purpose, they created a permanent body to watch over the measures of government, in so far as they respected religious reformation, which, at this time, included the whole policy of the kingdom; giving a commission to the ministers and laymen in whom they confided, which invested them with powers to meet at all times for the furtherance of what was called the great work. Fifteen members constituted this novel court of superintendence, but of these, twelve were required to be ministers; a most formidable body, which, in the agitated state of the people, could control government, and dictate the schemes which it was to adopt. *

The interference of the Assembly with the state of religion in England was disapproved by several of

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 387—390, and 392, 393. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 196, and History of his own Times, Vol. I. p 43. Printed acts of Assembly, 1642. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 348. Spalding, Vol. II. p. 36—38.

the members, who considered that the subject ought to have been proposed by his Majesty's Commissioner, and many of the most moderate were alarmed at the power given to the commission; but resistance was hopeless, and the covenanters triumphed. * 1642. Aug.

It is evident from all which was done by the Assembly, that the ministers, and those who acted with them, were determined to insist upon the establishment of presbytery in England, as essential to their civil and religious liberty; and knowing, as they did, that to this his Majesty would never consent, their object, in using the strong language upon the subject which they addressed to him, must have been to impress upon his mind, that, in the event of the sword being drawn, they would, from conscience, rank under the banners which the enemies of the throne were to display.

Answer returned.

This was at once discerned by the English parliament, and they framed their answer to the communication made by Maitland, so as to secure, at least, the neutrality, if not the co-operation of the covenanters. After acknowledging the friendship of their brethren in Scotland, they intimated their desire that there should be but one confession of

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 103, 104. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 349. This writer says, "The commission from the General Assembly, which before was of small use, is like almost to become a constant judicatory and very profitable, but of so high a strain, that to some it is terrible already."

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1642. Aug.

faith, and one form of church-government; and declared their hope, that they would be so directed as to cast out every thing offensive to God; and so far to agree with the Scotch and other reformed churches in the substantials of worship, doctrine, and discipline, that there might be a free communion in all holy offices. For attaining this great end, they announced their intention, as soon as they could gain his Majesty's consent, of calling an assembly of learned and godly divines; and lest this should lead those whom they were addressing to suspect that they were hesitating about the extirpation of episcopacy, they declared, "that the government by archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and the growth of religion, very prejudicial to the state and government of the kingdom, and that the same should be taken away." This reply was delivered

Sept. 21.

by Maitland to the commission. It gave much satisfaction;—for it, says one of the party, we were glad, and blessed God.*

The King, convinced that his English subjects had no sincere wish to substitute for episcopacy the presbyterian polity, with all the formidable priviledges which it conferred upon ministers and eccle-

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 390—392. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 349. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 105. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 543, 544.

siastical judicatories, endeavoured to remove the misapprehensions of the inhabitants of Scotland, whilst he stated the reasons which determined his own conduct. Addressing the council, he mentioned, that they were not more anxious about uniformity in church government through his three kingdoms than he was, provided it could be accomplished consistently with the dictates of his conscience;—he declined joining with the two houses of Parliament to effectuate it, because they had never made to him any proposal upon the subject;—he assured them, that he was confident that the persons who were making the fairest pretensions to them, would be as averse to embrace a presbyterian form, as the Scotch would be to adopt episcopacy;—he declared his conviction that the faction in England were not guided by the desire to reform such abuses in the church as were contrary to law, which he was most ready to do; and he promised, that whenever a proper scheme for advancing the unity of the protestant religion was laid before him, he would shew, by his earnestness to facilitate it, how cordial he was in so good a work. This letter, written on the day after he had erected his standard at Nottingham, was delivered to the commission at the same time with the answer from the parliament, but it was listened to with the utmost coldness, and indeed must have been perceived to be most unfavourable to that empire of presbytery, upon which

CHAP. XVII.

1642. Aug. 26.

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the covenanters now dwelt with the most enthusiastic rapture. *

1642. Aug.

The King had at length formed his determination not to submit, without a struggle, to the encroachments of his parliament; and after making

25th Aug.

a proposal for maintaining peace, the rejection of which he anticipated, he prepared for the fatal war which desolated England, and terminated in his own condemnation and execution. † In this work, the history of that war shall not be detailed; the attention of the reader will be solicited only to the interference of the Scotish nation, which originated with the ministers, or was enforced by them, and to such a view of the state of the church as led to that interference.

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 393. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 349. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 197.

† Works of King Charles, published by Royston. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 557. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 61.

CHAPTER EIGHTEENTH.

Scotland hostile to the cause of the King....Declaration of the English Parliament...Counter-declaration of the King....Decision of the Scotish Council....Cross Petition....Petition against certain Annuities....Negotiations with the King....Dissatisfaction occasioned by them....Convention....General Assembly....Attended by a Deputation from the English Parliament....Solemn League and Covenant....Remarks upon it....It is sent to England....Assembly of Divines at Westminster....Singular Acts of the General Assembly....Reception of the Covenant in England....It is taken in Scotland....Attempts to support the Royal cause....Marquis of Hamilton loses the King's favour....Montrose gains the confidence of Charles....Scotish Army enters England.

CHAP. XVIII.

1642. Scotland hostile to the King's cause.

THE period was now come when it was necessary to throw off all disguise, and for each party to secure the support of those in whom it confided. The King, after erecting his standard, was naturally solicitous to gain the Scotish nation, and his views were at this time anxiously promoted by the Marquis of Hamilton. Associating much with Argyll, Hamilton made a considerable impression upon his mind, and when the conservators of the peace, whom the chancellor had appointed to meet, and whose meeting was afterwards authorized by Charles,

22d Sept.

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1642. 24th Nov.

had assembled, they shewed some inclination to befriend the court; answered with respect the royal communications which had been made to them; and not only agreed to request that the Queen would visit Britain to interpose her mediation between the King and the parliament, but pledged themselves, that, if this mediation should not be successful, they would rally round the throne. These resolutions were subscribed by the most eminent popular leaders, and by Henderson, who represented the ministers. The King was at first highly gratified with what had been done, but apprehensions for the safety of his consort, at length induced him to reject the proposal for her interference, and he thus damped that zeal in his service which might have been successfully cherished. *

The effect of this change in his sentiments soon became apparent. When the conservators next assembled, they were much less friendly to him; but they determined to solicit from the King and the parliament, a safe conduct for commissioners whom they meant to appoint, for making an attempt at conciliation. †

Amidst these efforts to serve his Majesty, the fears of the great body of the people who were under the influence of the ministers, were not concealed. Distrustful of the King's attachment to the reformed

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 200—202. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. 352.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 202.

religion, knowing how much he was guided by the Queen, who was decidedly hostile to it, and alarmed at the reception of the adherents of Popery into the royal army, they became convinced, that the only security for the Protestant faith was to be found by joining the English parliament, which professed the same sentiments with themselves respecting civil and religious liberty. Accordingly, the ministers lost no time in sounding an alarm; they declared from their pulpits that the good cause was in danger, and the multitude re-echoed the exclamation. * CHAP. XVIII. 1642.

These feelings and views were strengthened by the parliament, which, alarmed at the stand made by the King, and intimidated by the issue of the various encounters between the royal troops and their own armies, used every method to gain the zealous reformers in Scotland. Pickering, an intriguing agent, had been dispatched by them to Edinburgh, and, soon after his arrival, there was transmitted to him a declaration of the Lords and Commons to the subjects of Scotland, in which they expatiated upon the dangers to which religion was exposed, and intreated their brethren to give them, at a period of such difficulty, the most cordial support. The King was informed of this appeal to his peo- 7th Nov. Declaration of the English Parliament.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, octavo edition, Oxford, 1707, Vol. II. Part i. p. 175, 176. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 354. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 204.

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ple, and, aware of the effects which might result from it, he immediately sent the Earl of Lanerick, his Scotish secretary, with a letter to the council, containing a counter-declaration. The council having been summoned, both papers were presented, and a struggle took place between the two parties which should be circulated. Argyll, who had by this time quarrelled with Hamilton, and again joined the church faction, insisted that both declarations should be published, or neither; thus placing the authority of the King and of the English parliament upon a footing; whilst the courtiers strenuously urged, that it was their duty to communicate the address of their sovereign to those who still acknowledged him as the monarch of Scotland. After much altercation, the adherents of Charles were successful; but from this period, the chief men of the kingdom were avowedly split into two parties, the one attached to the popular cause, the other to the interests of the King. *

1642. Counter Declaration by the King. 20th Dec.

Decision of the Scotish Council.

When it was announced that his Majesty's declaration only was to be printed, there were the most unequivocal proofs of discontent. Multitudes from Fife, and the adjacent counties, hastened to Edinburgh; the most popular ministers fanned the flame; at their instigation, a petition was presented to the council, that the declaration of the parliament

1643. 6th Jan.

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 393—397. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 204, 205. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 353. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 106, 107.

should not be withheld, and that an assurance should be given, that the order to print the King's address did not imply that it was approved. Similar petitions came from different parts of the kingdom, and from several presbyteries; and the council, unable, or unwilling to resist such importunity, granted what was required. *

Cross-Petition.

To counteract the popular exertions, the Earl of Traquair framed a petition, which was subscribed by many of the most distinguished men in the kingdom, and which, from the object that was intended to be accomplished, was called the cross-petition. In it, the lords of the council were earnestly requested to take no measures hostile to the privileges and rights of the crown,—to refrain, in their answer to the declaration of the English parliament, from giving any promise which might endanger the peace of the church and kingdom,—and to keep steadily in view the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical power. †

Moderate as these demands were, the ministers at once discerned the tendency of the petition; they refused to subscribe it; they threatened all who did so with the horrors of damnation; they declaimed against what they termed detestable neutrality; and the commission sent to the different presbyte-

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 396, 397. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 353. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 206. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 107.

† Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 397—400. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 206—209.

CHAP. XVIII. 1643.

ries a declaration against the petition, strictly enjoining the ministers to read this from their pulpits, and to make upon it such observations as appeared to them calculated to kindle the spirit which their leaders were anxious to diffuse.* The council, partial to the presbyterians, gave a vague answer to the cross-petition, but they immediately appointed commissioners to negotiate between the King and the two houses, and to solicit his Majesty, that the parliament of Scotland, which, by an act passed when he was in that kingdom, was not to be assembled till the expiration of three years, should without delay be summoned. To the civil commissioners were to be added, a certain number from the church, who were to enforce uniformity of ecclesiastical polity,—to demand that all Papists should be removed from the King's person,—and to insist that he himself should renounce episcopacy, although it was known that he revered it, as founded on the word of God. The courtiers resisted these measures. When they found themselves unable to defeat them, they objected to Warriston, one of the persons who had been named; and the church faction, although they refused to expunge his name, prudently abstained from wounding the feelings of the King, by the mission of a man whom he viewed with the strongest antipathy. They committed their instructions to the Earl of Loudon, the chancellor,

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 209. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 107, 109. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 354.

and to Henderson, whose zeal and talents had procured for him the fullest confidence. * CHAP. XVIII.

1643. Petition against certain annuities.

The Marquis of Hamilton, displeased with the nomination of the chancellor, artfully attempted to embarrass that nobleman, and to throw odium upon his party. He had purchased from the King a right to certain annuities arising from the tithes belonging to the crown, and he had quietly drawn the revenue to which he thus was entitled. The payment, however, was very unpopular, and was regarded as, in the highest degree, oppressive. Under the specious guise of patriotism, the Marquis turned his attention to this grievance, and, by the advice of the Earl of Traquair, he prepared a supplication to the King, that he would graciously release his people from so heavy a burden, or discontinue it, till he had considered whether it should be imposed. When the petition was published, numbers, impelled by regard to their interest and their comfort, gladly subscribed it; and the ministers, with their party, saw the difficult situation in which they were placed. If no resistance was made, they were sensible that their opponents would be viewed as having conferred upon the kingdom an essential benefit; that Loudon, one of their most zealous supporters, would be materially injured; and that all who had been relieved, would naturally

16th Feb.

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 399. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 209. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. Part i. p. 174.

CHAP. XVIII. 1643.

strengthen the sovereign, from whom relief had been obtained: whilst, on the other hand, they were aware, that opposition on their part to what was so acceptable to the people, might exhibit them as actuated by the most unworthy motives, and as sacrificing, for their own ends, that public good which they had constantly avowed that it was their great end to secure. They had however the dexterity to escape from the dilemma to which they had been reduced. They complained, that, by addressing the King, the judicatories to which the nation was indebted, were neglected; they represented that union was essential to the public welfare; and thus convincing the people, that the gift by which they were allured was treacherous, and might ruin the cause which was held to be sacred, they preserved the esteem of their adherents, and were impelled to make new and more decisive efforts to accomplish the schemes upon which they had long meditated. *

Negociations with the King. Feb.

The Earl of Loudon, with the other commissioners, and Henderson, who represented the church, repaired to the King, who was then at Oxford. Before entering upon political topics, they argued anew upon the subject of religion; and Henderson presented what was intituled, "A humble petition of the commissioners of the General Assembly, directed against prelacy, and urging vigorous proceed-

* Compare Burnet's Memoirs, p. 211, 212, with the account of this matter given by Baillie, Vol. I. p. 354, 355, and 357.

ings against the adherents of Popery." Loudon privately enforced this supplication, by assuring his Majesty, that if he consented to what was required, he would gain the Scotish nation; but Charles remained inflexible, and soon published his sentiments in a formal answer to the obnoxious paper which had been submitted to him. *

March 20. Having failed in this attempt to gain the King to support the religious measures recommended to him, Loudon pressed the mediation, and the speedy assembling of the Scotish parliament. Charles, upon strong grounds, resisted both these demands; and the commissioners having in vain solicited permission to go to London, were recalled home. Their report of the harshness and contempt with which they had been treated, increased the prevailing enmity to the court, and no time was lost in deliberating upon the steps which it was now prudent to adopt. †

April.

10th May. Dissatisfaction. In consequence of the suggestion of the ministers, who were highly dissatisfied, a meeting was held of the council, the conservators of the peace, and the commissioners for public burdens, and several very important resolutions were framed. It

* Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 174—188. Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 406—410, and p. 459—462. By mistake, the page succeeding 410 is marked 459, and the subsequent pages are numbered accordingly, but nothing is omitted. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 209, 210. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 108.

† Compare Burnet's Memoirs, p. 215, with Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 359.

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was proposed, that, on account of the warlike state of the north of England, Scotland should be immediately put in a posture of defence; and as this could not be done without the sanction of the estates, it was suggested, that a convention of these should be summoned without waiting for the mandate of the King. Hamilton and the adherents of the court powerfully resisted this proposal, maintaining, that it was totally inconsistent with the privileges of the crown; and even Sir Thomas Hope, partial as he was to the covenanters, exerted all his ingenuity and eloquence to shew its illegality; although it has been insinuated, that he secretly suggested that such a convention might be held without permission from the sovereign. It was decided, that the convention should take place; and the chancellor issued a proclamation, requiring it to assemble on the twenty-second of June. On the following day, a letter was addressed to his Majesty, apologizing for what had been done, and asking him to acquaint them whether he gave his approbation. This letter was signed only by those who composed the church party. *

Convention. 22d June.

The convention, for which the minds of the

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 218, 219. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 360, 361. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 111, 112. Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 463. A convention of the estates in Scotland was composed of all the members of parliament; but it sat without the formalities of parliament, and, although it could raise money and forces, its power did not extend to the making of laws.

people were prepared by a solemn fast, and by many political sermons, met on the day appointed, its meeting having been previously sanctioned by the King. * Immense numbers assembled, but it was soon apparent, that the popular party was determined to submit to no opposition. Dreading, however, that many zealous presbyterians would shrink from what evidently amounted to rebellion, it was prudently resolved, that whatever was done should be explicitly sanctioned by the church. As the convention had received from the commission of the General Assembly, which had also met, a remonstrance respecting the danger of the church and the nation, it requested that the same body would suggest the means of averting that danger. In compliance with this requisition, the commission pressed the importance of considering the cause of their brethren in England as their own, and of actively exerting themselves to maintain it,—thus, in effect, recommending hostile opposition to the King, although, to avoid the censure of interfering with civil arrangements, they did not expressly mention having recourse to arms. The convention, thus strengthened, resolved to arm the nation, and, under some frivolous pretext, ordered forces to be raised; but they were much perplexed that no embassy had been sent from the English parliament to concert with them the measures, which, in the

1643.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 231, 232.

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present emergency, should be adopted. Towards the conclusion of their deliberations, however, a messenger from the two houses arrived, who apologized for the apparent neglect. He announced the meeting of an Assembly of divines at Westminster, to regulate, in conformity with the demands of the ministers, the worship and polity to be introduced, and thus furnished a new motive for the cordial union of the estates and of the church of Scotland with the discontented in England. *

General Assembly. 2d Aug.

But this union was not consolidated till the meeting of the General Assembly, the proceedings of which throw full light upon the state of the public mind, and upon the resolutions which the church party had previously taken. This supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, whose decisions at this period guided the administration of Scotland, assembled in the beginning of August. Sir Thomas Hope was appointed his Majesty's commissioner, and was probably chosen under the impression that he would restrain the violence of the covenanters, by whom he was revered. He delivered a letter from the King, in which he shortly exhorted the members to endeavour, by their deliberations, to preserve peace, reminding them, that alterations in religion were often the inlets to civil dissension, and might occa-

* Compare Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 366, 367, and 372, with Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 114—115. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 233—235. Rushworth, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 463. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 368.

sion the overthrow both of the church and the kingdom. It was not to be expected, that, in the present state of their minds, convinced that the ascendancy of the royal cause would be accompanied with the destruction of presbytery, and that, through the parliament alone, civil liberty and true religion could be secured, much attention would be paid to the request of the sovereign; and they immediately entered upon discussions and arrangements, which produced a great effect upon the situation of the two kingdoms. 1643.

Attended by a deputation from the English parliament.

The houses of parliament, deeply impressed with the importance of gaining the Scotish nation, sent commissioners to represent to the council, and to the Assembly, the posture of affairs, and to consult upon some common plan for defending what both were eager to procure. These commissioners arrived in Edinburgh a few days after the meeting of the Assembly. They delivered to a committee, for the purpose of its being reported to the Assemby, a representation, in which, after acknowledging, by order of the English parliament, the zeal which had been displayed by the presbyterians and covenanters, for reforming religion, and utterly extirpating popery, after enumerating what the two houses had done for advancing the same interesting objects, they declared, that, notwithstanding all which had been hitherto accomplished, the evils over which pious men in both kingdoms mourned, were, by reason of the prevailing of papists, of the pre- August.

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latical faction, and other malignant enemies, in danger of becoming even more formidable than they had ever been; and intimated the earnest desire of those whom they represented, that the Assembly would lay to heart the state and condition of their sister church and kingdom, and, not only by their prayers assist in these straits, but also, by such seasonable means as to them might seem meet, further the aid and assistance now demanded. The commissioners, amongst whom was Sir Harry Vane the younger, a man who took a most active part in the troubles which distracted Britain, also delivered to the convention a specific proposal from the English parliament for aid and union, and this was communicated to the Assembly, without whose sanction nothing could be decided. All the members shewed the most earnest desire to assist their brethren in England; but when the mode of doing so was discussed, the difference of sentiment in the two nations became apparent. Prejudiced as many of the inhabitants of the sister-kingdom were against episcopacy, they had no wish to substitute for it that exclusive presbyterian polity which now domineered in Scotland; but they were desirous that the independents should be tolerated, or, that some comprehensive scheme, including Christians of different denominations, should be devised. The commissioners, guided by these views, proposed that a civil league should be formed, and that the subject of ecclesiastical reformation should be left for future

discussion; but the Scotch, identifying their polity with religion itself, and with all which was valuable to the community, insisted upon a covenant, having for its avowed object that uniformity of church-government for which they had prayed to Heaven, forsaken their sovereign, and interfered with the religious principles of the people of England. When the first sketch of the agreement was submitted to the commissioners, they expressed their disapprobation; but when they found the ministers peremptory in their resolution to plant in a reformed church the same intolerance which had been one cause of revolting from popery, unwilling, or afraid to exasperate, they acquiesced. 1643.

The result of all their deliberations was the adoption of what was entitled, the solemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms, of Scotland, England, and Ireland. They who subscribed this deed solemnly swore, that they should sincerely and constantly endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; as also the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; that, in like manner, they should, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation

The solemn league and covenant.

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of popery, prelacy, (by which they declared themselves to mean church-government by archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; that they should, with the same sincerity, endeavour, with their estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, and to preserve and defend the King's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdom; that they should punish all incendiaries, that is, all who differed from themselves,—labour to preserve peace between the kingdoms,—remain firm to their engagement,—and should humble themselves before God for the many sins of which they had been guilty. This covenant was heard in the Assembly with general feelings of pious admiration; and although some forcible arguments had been stated against rashly pledging themselves to support the parliament before its real intentions with respect to religion were ascertained, it was unanimously approved, and an act, expressing that approbation, was immediately framed. Upon this act being transmitted to the convention of the estates, it was by that body joyfully ratified. *

* Printed Acts of General Assembly 1643. Baillie's account of that Assembly, in Vol. I. of his Letters. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 116. —120. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 237—239. Rushworth, Vol. IV.

CHAP. XVIII.

1643. Aug. Remarks upon it.

Of the zeal of the Assembly for the establishment of presbytery throughout Great Britain and Ireland, there can be no doubt; but it is astonishing, that when this was the case, they consented to the clause relating to ecclesiastical polity. It was indeed sworn to maintain in the church of Scotland the reformed religion, as it then existed; but with respect to England and Ireland, the reformation was to be according to the word of God, and the practice of the best reformed churches,—expressions which might have sanctioned any form of church-government which was regarded by the proposers of it as agreeable to Scripture. It has been said that this clause was artfully inserted by Sir Harry Vane, to deceive the Scotch, by appearing to assent to the introduction of presbytery into England, whilst that was really left to be afterwards determined; but of this no mention is made by Baillie, who declares, that the covenant was composed by Henderson, and that he and his brethren were fully aware of the intention of the English commissioners. The more probable account of the matter is, that the Assembly was so fully satisfied that presbytery was of divine institution, and sanctioned by the most eminent reformed churches, that the expression was viewed as completely securing the establishment of this polity in England, and

Part ii. p. 466, 467. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part i. p. 369. A copy of the Covenant is commonly bound with the Confession of Faith.

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that the variation was introduced from the idea that, whilst the leading features in the constitution of the two churches would be the same, some modifications might, from local circumstances, be requisite in the one country which were useless in the other. *

Whilst the covenant thus referred to religious reformation, it kept steadily in view the promotion of political freedom; and although the obligation to defend the rights of the two parliaments was much too vague to be inserted in an oath, implying a degree of knowledge respecting these rights, which very few who took the oath could have acquired, yet the solemn vow to adhere to whatever favoured the liberties of the people, directly tended to cherish that manly spirit of independence which shrinks from the degradation of oppression, and lays the foundation for those substantial improvements in government which give to political institutions the only just claim to the veneration and the obedience of mankind. †

In alluding to the solemn league and covenant, it must not be kept out of view, that the whole of its spirit was in direct opposition to the spirit of

* Compare Burnet's Memoirs, p. 240, with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 381. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 65, 66. Neal remarks that the wise men on both sides strove to outwit each other; and this opinion is adopted by Laing, Vol. I. p. 232, though expressed by him with the contempt which he always shews, when he speaks of religious men.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 240.

Christianity, breathing an intolerance that sapped the most sacred of those rights which it was one of its avowed designs to secure, vesting a protestant community with powers inconsistent with the fundamental principles upon which the reformation had proceeded, and particularly destroying that free exercise of private judgment for which the first reformers, to their immortal honour, had strenuously contended. Much allowance, however, from the circumstances in which they were placed, must be made for the persons by whom it was sanctioned. By the infatuated conduct of James, the ideas of popery and prelacy had, in the minds of his people, been firmly associated; whilst the active part taken by the Scotish bishops in the persecution of all who opposed episcopacy,—their subserviency to an arbitrary court,—the looseness of their manners,—and their contempt of the prevailing religious sentiments of the community,—combined in inspiring the presbyterians with an aversion to the hierarchy, which, in a different situation, they would probably not have entertained. It is difficult for those who can calmly weigh the various forms of ecclesiastical polity, and who have happily seen that the best interests of pure religion may be effectually promoted under them all, to enter into the feelings of the covenanters; but it may be easily conceived, that the enlarged sentiments of toleration which are now common, could not be expected at a time when

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freedom and piety were, however erroneously, firmly believed to be incompatible with that toleration. Had the presbyterians then acted as liberal and enlightened men would do now, and had they opened the arms of Christian charity to the abettors of prelacy, whilst these men were guided by the abhorrence of presbytery which they afterwards displayed, they would have seen their church overturned, and the noble constitutional principles which they had established buried in its ruins; they would only have changed places; and, instead of denouncing bishops, have accelerated that iniquitous persecution which they were soon doomed to encounter. When religious sects are struggling for ascendancy, and when the political situation of a kingdom must be deeply affected by their rise or fall, it is unreasonable to think that any one sect should be guided by benevolent forbearance, whilst they who oppose it are meditating its destruction, and would turn against it the weapons which it had relinquished. Whilst then the intolerance of the covenant is condemned, it ought not to be forgotten, that the same severity of censure should not be directed against its supporters, as would justly be directed against all who now endeavoured to wrest from others the inestimable privilege of worshipping God according to conscience; a privilege which the very act of persecution shews that they who have recourse to it highly value.

After every allowance, however, and he who

makes not such allowance is little qualified for deriving from history the instruction with which it is replete, it must be admitted, that the warmth of religious zeal was often increased by the operation of unworthy passions; and nothing can more strikingly illustrate the sad influence of prejudice, even over vigorous minds, than that men, who not only had access to Scripture, but who habitually and anxiously examined it, should class, as equally worthy of abhorrence and abjuration, popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness.

18th Aug. Solemn League and Covenant sent to England. 30th Aug.

On the day after the Assembly had approved of the solemn league and covenant, and declared that it should be sent to England, that, being received and approved in that kingdom, it might be subscribed by all true professors of the reformed religion, and all his Majesty's good subjects in both nations, commissioners were appointed to carry it to London. Several of the most popular ministers were selected; and with them were joined Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, Cassilis, and Warrington. They commenced their journey in the end of August. *

Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

The commissioners for England had been instructed to solicit the attention of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory of Scotland to the Assembly of divines already alluded to, and which had met at Westminster; and to request that they would send

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 387. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 120. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 239.

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1643. to it a deputation to assist in its discussions. After parliament had resolved to remove the abuses which had been introduced into the church, a petition was presented by some ministers in London, that his Majesty should be solicited to call a synod, that all points connected with ecclesiastical government might be freely considered. To this measure the King did not at first express any reluctance; but after the treaty attempted at Oxford had failed, the two houses, desirous to gratify their Scotch partisans, converted the bill for summoning the convention into an ordinance of their own; and thus, without waiting for the concurrence of the Sovereign, appointed the Assembly to meet at Westminster on the first of July, for the purpose which they specified; founding the measure upon a previous resolution, that the form of church-polity then existing was an evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom. The Assembly was to consist of thirty lay-assessors, ten of whom were to be peers, and one hundred and twenty divines, all to be chosen by parliament. It was prohibited from assuming any ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction, which was not conveyed to it by the ordinance; and it was commanded, in case of any difference of opinion, to report to either of the two houses, that proper directions for its proceedings might be given. Previous to the day of meeting, the King declared the Assembly to be illegal, and prohibited the persons mentioned in the pretended ordinance from

12th June.

22d June.

obeying it. About sixty-nine, however, disregarded the royal mandate; but amongst this number there were very few of the episcopal clergy. *

1643.

The Westminster Assembly thus convened, addressed a letter to the General Assembly, stating the perils with which they were encompassed, and the dangers which threatened the reformed religion; expressing the warmest admiration and gratitude for the part which their Scotish brethren had acted in promoting the good work, and inviting some of them to come to London, to assist in the interesting deliberations for purifying the church. This letter was heard with the strongest emotions of pious satisfaction. Commissioners were immediately chosen to repair to Westminster; and an answer was returned, expressing the utmost ardour for uniformity, and the most rooted abhorrence of prelacy. †

4th Aug.

Singular Acts of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly, during the period of its sitting, passed several acts of a more private nature, relating to the state and the administration of the church in Scotland. It was enjoined upon all presbyteries, to be most careful in their search for books

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 823, 824. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 205. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 480. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 47—54. and quotation from Palmer's Non-conformists' Journal, in a Note to p. 47.

† Printed Acts of Assembly, 1643. Baillie's account of that Assembly in Vol. I. of his Letters and Journals. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 117, and 120. Both Baillie and Guthrie were present at the Assembly.

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tending to separation; an injunction implying that freedom of discussion, and even liberty of thought, were to be proscribed; the censures of the church were directed against those who hesitated to sign the covenant; a directory for divine worship was ordered to be framed before the commencement of the ensuing year; the commission, which was a formidable engine of ecclesiastical power, was renewed; a humble answer was written to the King's letter, conveying, in the most loyal expressions, sentiments of determined resistance to his authority; and some overtures or propositions, with respect to witchcraft and charming, were presented and approved, shewing the deplorable superstition which yet kept its ground amongst all ranks of the community. The reality of witchcraft does not appear to have been for a moment doubted; they who were guilty of it were represented as assailed by the devil; the causes of his victory over them were gravely detailed; punishment of the unhappy beings who were suspected was earnestly recommended; and evidence is incidentally furnished of the shocking cruelty with which they were treated. It was enacted, that when they are apprehended, honest and discreet persons should be appointed to watch them, because, if left alone, they were in danger of destroying themselves, that is, of escaping, by the shocking crime of suicide, from the insult, the torture, and the death which they knew it was vain to

hope that, by any proof of innocence, they could avoid. *

1643.

It is melancholy to dwell upon such instances of intellectual degradation which aggravated human wretchedness, and strewed the path of life with imaginary horrors. Yet it is delightful to reflect, that the gradually increasing influence of sincere and of rational religion, has, in a great degree, delivered the people of Scotland from errors which led to the most lamentable enormities; and this may serve as one of many facts to evince the vast importance of giving to knowledge and to religious instruction every encouragement, as being favourable to whatever is excellent, and generous, and dignified, in the character of man.

Reception of the covenant in England. 28th Aug.

The noblemen and ministers appointed to go to London, obeyed the instructions which they had received, and presented to both houses of parliament, and to the Westminster Assembly, the solemn league and covenant, which was to unite, in one great struggle, the two nations of Britain. After a slight degree of hesitation by a very few, it was approved by the whole body of divines; and, after some discussion in the House of Commons, it was not only approved, but all the members were enjoined to subscribe it; and, on a future day, the matter having been keenly debated, the whole inhabitants of the city and country were commanded

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1643, p. 27, 28.

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to attach their subscriptions, under pain of being branded as malignants. The ceremony of taking the oath was conducted in the most impressive manner. Both houses of parliament, attended by the Assembly of Divines and the Scotish commissioners, met in the church of St Margaret in Westminster. White, one of the divines, began by a long prayer; this was succeeded by a discourse from another clergyman, designed to shew that the covenant was warranted by Scripture, and would be of infinite benefit to the church. Henderson then addressed the audience, detailing all which his countrymen had done, and the advantage which they had derived from such covenants; he expatiated upon the influence of evil counsels over the King; and he concluded with what he probably supposed was the strongest argument for subscription,—the resolution of the estates of Scotland to assist the English parliament. The covenant being then read, notice was given to all that they should immediately, by swearing to it, worship the great name of God, and testify this by lifting up their hands. They who complied afterwards went into the chancel, and subscribed a long roll of parchment upon which the covenant was written. The whole concluded with imploring the divine blessing upon what had taken place. *

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 69 and 74. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 475 and 478—481. In these Collections,

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When the covenant was returned to Scotland, it was received by all ranks with the utmost joy. Some slight alterations which had been made in it were approved,—several ministers were sent to London to intimate the approval, and a day for swearing and subscribing this important obligation was appointed. About the middle of October, the commission of the church, the committee of estates, and the English commissioners, who had remained, probably, for the purpose, assembled in one of the churches, and, after divine service had been performed, they with great exultation, and with many tears, annexed their subscription. An ordinance of the committee of estates was soon after published, requiring all the subjects of Scotland to imitate the example which had been set before them, and threatening that the disobedient should be punished as enemies to religion, to his Majesty's honour, and to the peace of the two kingdoms. This was evidently directed against the noblemen who had remained firm to the royal cause; and accordingly, in a few days, all the lords who were of the council, were peremptorily commanded to appear on the 2d of November, and take the covenant. The Duke

1643. Covenant taken in Scotland. 15th Oct.

22d Oct.

there is a copy of the solemn league and covenant, with the names of the commons who subscribed, amounting to 228. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 372—376. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 390 and 392. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 121. Collier, Vol. II. p. 826. It appears from Baillie, and from Neal, Vol. III. p. 70, that the Little House of Lords, as Baillie contemptuously styled it, although present, did not subscribe at this time, but delayed doing so till the 15th of October.

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of Hamilton, his brother Lanerick, and several others, declined obeying the order, pleading, that they were not satisfied either with what the covenant contained, or with the authority by which it was imposed. This plea was disregarded,—a new day for complying with the requisition was named; and when this also passed without any change in their sentiments, they were declared enemies to God, to their King, and the country; their estates were ordered to be confiscated, and soldiers were dispatched to seize their persons, with instructions to kill all by whom, in the discharge of this duty, they should be resisted. Hamilton and Lanerick, finding it vain to struggle with the violence of the prevailing faction, and dreading the consequences if they surrendered, left Scotland about the end of November, to join the King, who was then at Oxford. *

Attempts to support the cause of the King.

Whilst these strong measures were taking by the covenanters, some feeble efforts were made to save Charles from the degradation which awaited him. The Earl of Montrose, who saw that another rebellion would take place, had, in the month of February, upon the Queen's return to England, waited upon her to represent the danger with which his Majesty was threatened, and to give his advice that

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 393. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 121, 122, and 124. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 250. Trail's MS. Diary. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 484.

it should be averted, by raising an army. He also offered his own services. His sentiments respecting the state of the public mind were well founded, but the counsel which he gave, he had taken no prudent method to carry into effect. Bold and ardent in his resolutions, and disgusted at the popular faction with which he had once acted, he was deficient in that calmness and solidity of judgment which the critical period at which he lived so much required. Hamilton hastened to dissuade the Queen from adopting the suggestions of Montrose, and he so effectually represented the improbability of any good resulting from them, that they were disregarded. * 1643.

But although he thus counteracted the scheme of directly supporting the King, he made various attempts, without proceeding to extremities with the church faction, to form a party for Charles. He often deliberated with those lords who still were desirous to preserve the prerogative; as a member of the estates, he resisted the proposals of the covenanters, and he endeavoured to influence his own vassals and dependents. Even in this, however, he did not succeed. The people listened to their ministers in preference to their chieftain, and inflamed by publications assiduously circulated amongst them,

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 212, 213, compared with Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, p. 11, 12. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 108, 109.

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1643. and which basely calumniated the monarch, they determined not to desert those whom they revered as the champions of liberty, and of pure religion. His Majesty had been justly irritated at the conduct

18th Aug. of the estates who had used his name in levying forces to be employed against him, and he had remonstrated against this dissimulation; but the lords who were attached to him, thought it prudent not to present his letter to the council, following the cautious procedure which Hamilton had recommended. The total failure of all his plans afforded too specious ground for misrepresenting him to his sovereign, who, far from welcoming him to Oxford, refused to admit him to his presence, and ordered him to be imprisoned till the charges against him should be investigated. * Montrose was now received into the favour of Charles; he was dispatched to Scotland with full power to raise troops; and he soon commenced those brilliant but useless enterprises, which, by keeping up the hopes of his master, proved ruinous to his interest, and hastened his melancholy fate. †

Hamilton loses the favour of the King.

Montrose gains the confidence of Charles.

1644. The covenanters, freed by the flight of Hamilton from all opposition, proceeded with the utmost vigour in collecting an army; they entrusted the com-

15th Jan. Scotish army enters England.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 242—251, and History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 48. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 124. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part I. p. 880—882. Life of Charles, prefixed to his works, p. 48, 49.

† Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 50—52, and Memoirs, p. 275, compared with Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.

[illegible]

mand of it to their veteran leader Lesly, now Earl of Leven, who forgot his promise never to bear arms against his sovereign; and whilst they still held the language of attachment to the King, professing, with disgusting hypocrisy, to be solicitous for his honour, they ordered their forces to march into England, and to join the parliament, which avowed that it had unsheathed the sword against him. A declaration in name of both kingdoms was soon after published, that they had joined for vindication and defence of their religion, liberties, and laws, against what they denominated, the Popish, the prelatical, and the malignant party. * 1644. 30th Jan.

The ministers in Scotland had now the satisfaction of seeing the triumph of their principles. Not only had they procured the establishment of the presbyterian polity in their own country,—not only had they entered into a league with England, from which they hoped that uniformity of church-government would soon prevail in Britain,—not only had they sent commissioners to arrange with the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the doctrine and discipline to which all should conform,—but they had actually involved the nation in war to defend their tenets, and had assembled, chiefly through their exhortations, a powerful army, which they had sent into England, attended by chaplains, selected for

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 499—502. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part I. p. 383, and 411.

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the warmth of their zeal,—convinced that they were engaged in the cause of God,—idolized by the soldiers,—and thus admirably qualified to keep alive that spirit, the decay of which would have withdrawn the people from the holy standards under which they were so eager to serve. *

* Trail's MS. Diary. He was one of the ministers sent with the army, and officiated to what was called the Ministers' Regiment, from its having been equipped by the clergy.

CHAPTER NINETEENTH.

Progress of Presbytery in England....Opposed by the Independents, and by different Members of Parliament.... Resolution with respect to it....Treaty and Proceedings at Uxbridge....Execution and character of Laud....Remarks upon the proposals made to the King for fixing Ecclesiastical Polity.....Issue of the Treaty.....Effect of it upon parties in England.....State of Scotland....Success of Montrose...General Assembly....Its remonstrance to the King.....Fresh successes of Montrose.....He is appointed Captain-General and Deputy Governor of Scotland.....Destruction of his Army.....Cruelty of the Covenanters, particularly of the Ministers....The affairs of the King become hopeless.... He arrives at the Scotish camp....Manner in which he was treated....Negociations with him.....His controversy with Henderson about Episcopacy....Death and Character of Henderson.

CHAP. XIX.

1644. Progress of Presbytery in England.

ALTHOUGH, at the commencement of the troubles which terminated in civil war, there was no intention in the majority of the English parliament to abolish episcopacy, yet, from various causes, it came at length to be regarded as the source from which there was most reason to apprehend the corruption of true religion. The Scotish divines who sat in the Westminster Assembly, had accordingly no ground to be dissatisfied with the measures for

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1644. 20th May.

destroying the ancient establishment, and they took an early opportunity of conveying to the General Assembly the feelings which had been excited in their minds. They declared, that they could not but admire the good hand of God in the great things already done, particularly that the Covenant was taken, prelacy and the whole train thereof extirpated, the service-book in many places forsaken, plain and powerful preaching set up, many colleges in Cambridge provided with such ministers as were most zealous of the best reformation, the communion in some places given at the table with sitting, the great organs in Paul's and Peter's at Westminster taken down, images and many other monuments of idolatry defaced and abolished, the chapel royal at Whitehall purged and reformed, and all by authority, in a quiet manner, at noon-day, without tumult. *

It is opposed.

But the satisfaction to which these changes gave rise was lessened, by the hesitation which was avowed respecting the polity to be introduced. Although the great part of the Assembly of Divines was favourable to presbytery, there were various parties decidedly averse to its establishment. The independents, wedded to their peculiar views, could not conscientiously submit to the different and ascending judicatories for which the Scotch contended; others denied that presbytery was of divine institu-

* Printed Acts of Assembly 1644, in which the letter of the commissioners at London is inserted.

tion, and this opinion was held by a large proportion of the members in both houses of parliament. From this conflict of sentiments, much delay took place in the Assembly; every proposal for a directory of worship and a form of polity was keenly debated; toleration was demanded by the independents in the event of the presbyterian discipline becoming that of the national church, whilst long orations were directed against the favourite tenet, that presbytery was expressly enjoined by the word of God. The patience of the Scotish commissioners was severely tried; they lamented the prevalence of sects; they inveighed against toleration, as sapping the foundation of the gospel; they complained to the General Assembly of the obstacles which had been thrown in the way of the completion of the great work; and they prevailed upon a numerous body of ministers around London to deplore to the parliament, "that through many erroneous opinions, ruinating schisms, and damnable heresies unhappily fomented, the orthodox ministry were neglected, the people seduced, fearful confusions introduced;" and to pray, "that, as a remedy for these evils, a directory for worship should be hastened, and the establishment of a pure discipline and government be accelerated." *

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 829, 830. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II p. 11, 12. Printed Acts of Assembly, 1644. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 129—133, 139, and 215. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 99, 100.

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1645. 3d Jan. Resolution with respect to it.

This representation, aided by others from the Scotish army, which had stormed Newcastle, quickened the proceedings of the divines; the directory, which the prohibition of the liturgy rendered necessary, was concluded, and sanctioned by parliament; and although the *jus divinum* was not admitted, and toleration was recommended, they resolved, that to have a presbytery in the church was according to the word of God; ordaining, that it was lawful, and agreeable to scripture, that the church should be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies. * This however did not satisfy the Scotish divines, and, by dwelling upon the danger of the church, they prevailed on the common council to petition parliament, that the presbyterian discipline might be established as the discipline of Jesus Christ. This was resisted; but they made a new though fruitless attempt to procure, from the House of Peers, a sanction to their intolerant requisition. † Though disappointed in this respect, they soon perceived that a great victory had been obtained by them. Representing it as such to the General Assembly, they continued their endeavours to vest in the English presbyteries that plenitude of spiritual power which was exercised by the presbyteries in Scotland; and they laboured to

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 122 and 124, 125. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 87. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 264, 265.

† Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 265.

accomplish another great object, that the Westminster Assembly should prepare and sanction a confession of faith, containing the doctrines which had long been embraced by the majority of their countrymen, as constituting the purity of divine truth. * 1645.

Whilst theological discussions thus agitated the minds of men, and the horrors of civil war were rapidly spreading, both parties, however insincerely, professed the utmost desire to restore the blessings of peace; and the houses of parliament, in conjunction with the Scotish commissioners, deliberated upon the terms which should be proposed to the King. † His Majesty having granted a safe-conduct to the negociators appointed by parliament, to the commissioners from Scotland, and to Henderson, who accompanied them to defend their religious principles, it was resolved, that they should meet at Uxbridge, a place not far from Oxford, with those whom the King selected to defend his claims, and to make known his determinations. ‡

Treaty and proceedings at Uxbridge.

21st Jan.

About this time an event took place, which evinced a spirit little favourable to conciliation. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who had lain for upwards of three years in the Tower, was, to gratify the Scotch, who abhorred him as the corrupter of

Execution and character of Laud. 10th Jan.

* Baillie's speech to the General Assembly, Vol. II. p. 87.

† Rapin's history, Vol. II. p. 511, 512.

‡ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 104, 112—114, and 125. Papers and passages concerning the treaty of peace at Uxbridge, in Royston's Collection of the works of Charles, Part ii. p. 415—432.

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1645. Jan. 10.

their church, put upon his trial, and having been condemned, he was ordered to be executed. On the day appointed, he was brought to the scaffold. His advanced years, and the uselessness of now punishing a man whose influence was at an end, gave to this step the aspect of inhumanity; and the firmness with which he met his fate, excited much commiseration. In an address to the people, he solemnly declared his attachment to the church of England, and his abhorrence of treason, for which he had been condemned; he prayed that God might bless the parliament, he forgave his enemies, implored that he himself might be forgiven, and asked the spectators to join in his devotion. Whatever had been his errors, he should have been permitted to spend his last moments without molestation; but one of the attendants harassed him by rude and unseasonable interrogations, from which he escaped, by laying his head upon the block.*

His character has been drawn in very different colours, according to the political and religious sentiments of those by whom it has been transmitted. By some he has been exhibited as a loyal servant to his king, as a martyr to the church, to the head of which he was exalted, and as distinguished by his piety and his learning; whilst by others he has been

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 123. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 833, 834. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 572—574.

execrated as a bigot and a persecutor. In private life he was marked by the regularity of his deportment; he acquired much of what, in his days, was considered as the most valuable knowledge; but his temper was violent, and his manners were ungracious and revolting. Eager to increase the splendour of religious worship, he introduced the most frivolous ceremonies, and urged the observance of them with the most unwarrantable and unconstitutional severity; he employed the influence of the church to support the prerogative, and favoured maxims of policy which tended to introduce the most degrading oppression. For these faults in his public conduct, no blamelessness of life can atone; and whilst the virulence of party animosity must be admitted to have blackened his reputation, there can be little doubt, that, had there been no other mode of saving the kingdom, he might justly have been doomed to the melancholy death by which he was removed from the world. * CHAP. XIX. 1645.

The commissioners who had been appointed met at Uxbridge; and having arranged the mode of proceeding, entered upon the interesting business for which they had assembled. The points to be taken into consideration were, religion, the militia, and the Proceedings at Uxbridge.

* Clarendon, Vol. I. folio, p. 51. and Vol. II. Part ii. octavo, p. 574. Collier, Vol. II. p. 834. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. throughout. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 507, with Note. Neal, Vol. III. p. 226—229. with Note to p. 229. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 67, 68.

CHAP. XIX.

1645. 31st June.

state of Ireland. The proposals made to the King respecting religion, and these alone fall to be stated in this work, plainly shew, that the parliament could have no hope that peace would be restored. He was required to sanction a bill for the abolition of prelacy; to confirm the ordinance for the Assembly of divines; to give his consent to the directory; and to declare certain propositions, relating to the government of the church, essential for securing the reformation and uniformity, which were represented as so much wanted for promoting the efficacy and purity of divine truth. These propositions were, that Christians should be divided into distinct congregations; that the minister, and the other ecclesiastical officers in each congregation, should join in the government of the church; in such way as might be approved by parliament; that several congregations should be comprehended in one presbytery; and that there should be also provincial and general Assemblies. These demands implied the full establishment of presbytery, as it had been introduced into Scotland; but, in addition even to this, the parliamentary commissioners were instructed to require, that his Majesty should take the solemn league and covenant; and that an act should be passed, binding all the people of Britain to take it, under pain of such punishment as it might be, by both nations, judged proper to inflict.

The members of parliament were perfectly aware, that the King's zealous adherence to prelacy was

1645. Remarks upon the proposals made to the King.

occasioned, not solely by the desire to preserve the rights of the throne, but from his conviction that it was prescribed by the word of God, and that he was bound by his coronation oath to give to it his support. Whether these opinions were just or not, so long as he adhered to them, it could not be supposed that they would have no influence on his conduct, or that, by his own solemn act, he would violate his honour, and what he believed to be his sacred duty. This circumstance alone gives much reason for believing, that the treaty was, on the part of the popular faction, merely an instrument to serve their cause; and it may surely be doubted, whether there existed in the Assembly of the nation, any right to insist that Charles, contrary to his own inclination, should acquiesce in the ecclesiastical revolution which he was asked to sanction. It is certain, that the object of constitutions respecting the church, as of all other constitutions, should be the benefit of the community; and that this benefit is to be imparted by the dissemination of what is regarded as true religion. If, therefore, it were necessary to establish a form of church polity in a country where no such form had been introduced, it would be proper in the representatives of the nation, supposing, as we here do, that Scripture is silent upon the subject, to take all circumstances into view, and to select that form which they had ground to believe would be most acceptable, and most useful to the people. The case, however, seems to be

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very different, when it is intended to remove a form which had long existed. It is always to be presumed, that this form had been chosen for the best reasons; and the circumstance of its having, perhaps for ages, being found consistent with public tranquillity and happiness, gives to it a prescriptive authority, which should not be rashly attacked, and which certainly should not be destroyed, unless the evidence of its being radically corrupt, and of its being regarded as such by a vast majority of those who are interested, be very powerful. If these general maxims be applied to the present case, they tend to vindicate the opposition of Charles to the religious schemes of his parliament. Prelacy had, by the English reformers, been continued in their church; it was interwoven with the law and constitution of the kingdom; it had been found sufficiently adapted for conveying the instructions of religion; and the King, when he ascended his throne, had been required to swear that he should maintain it. Even then, although a complete change had, in the course of his reign, taken place in the sentiments of his subjects, still he was entitled to adhere to what he had been led to adopt; and although, at the commencement of another reign, the Sovereign might have been called to accommodate his oath to his political religion, or the religion of his people, all that could reasonably be asked from Charles was, that free toleration should be granted to those who had conscientiously renounced the tenets which they

had formerly held. But such a change as that which has been mentioned, had no existence; the King knew that many of his subjects were attached to the former establishment, and he had much reason to believe, what afterwards actually happened, that, when the momentary influence of a violent faction had ceassd, the hierarchy would no longer be regarded with abhorrence. 1645.

But whatever conclusion may be drawn respecting the establishment of presbytery, there can be no hesitation in condemning the parliament, and the Scotish commissioners, for endeavouring to compel the King to swear to the solemn league and covenant, and to ratify an act, forcing everybody to imitate his example; for this was an exercise of authority, which, consistently with reason and virtue, no human-being can assume. It is that worst of tyranny, which degrades the moral nature of man, which rendered the papal dominion insupportable, and which had been lately execrated by those who did not scruple to employ its operation.

When the proposals of parliament were first submitted to the King, he had specified the terms which he was willing to grant; and had thus expressed himself upon the subject of religion:—"That as he had always professed his readiness to that purpose, so he would most cheerfully consent to any good acts to be made for the suppression of popery, and for the firmer settling of the protestant religion established by law; as also, that a good bill might be

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framed, for the better preserving of the book of common prayer from scorn and violence; and that another bill might be framed for the ease of tender consciences, in such particulars as might be agreed upon; for all which, he conceived the best expedient to be, that a national synod should be legally called with all convenient speed." In this declaration there are expressions which it would have been prudent not to use. The remark in favour of the book of common prayer, the use of which the parliament had discontinued, was little calculated to sooth minds exasperated by the spirit of faction; and the proposal, more firmly to settle the protestant religion as by law established, which was the hierarchy, could not fail to provoke the party by which that hierarchy had been renounced. Still, however, the proposition of his Majesty was much better adapted to form the basis of a treaty than that of the parliament, because it proceeded upon the supposition, that ease was to be given to tender consciences, and thus afforded an opportunity of fixing how far that ease was to be extended. *

The divines who attended the commissioners were, after some preliminary arrangements, invited to discuss the question of ecclesiastical polity. Dr Stewart, who had been appointed by the King, zealously defended episcopacy, as of divine institu-

* For the papers connected with the treaty of Uxbridge, see Royston's Collection already quoted, Part ii. from p. 415. Clarendon's History, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 580.

tion; whilst Henderson conducted the defence of presbytery. Waving the point of divine institution, he argued in favour of the discipline to which he was attached, from its being necessary for the preservation of the state. He urged, that as episcopacy could not, in the estimation of parliament, be maintained without sacrificing the best interests of the kingdom, the question was, whether the church should be given up to save the nation. With much force he insisted, that it was apparent from the history of the church, that prelacy could not be deemed so essential to religion that religion could not exist without it; and, assuming this as incontrovertible, he pointed out various prudential reasons for the change which the King was requested to sanction. He endeavoured to turn aside the argument against his cause, drawn from the conscience of the King, by adverting to what had been done in Scotland; observing, that, as his Majesty had consented to the abolition of the order of bishops in that kingdom, it could not be supposed that principle stood in the way of his doing the same in England. The divines, on the opposite side, vindicated the King from the insinuation which this remark conveyed, and replied to the reasoning of Henderson, who at length resorted to the favourite plea of his party, that presbytery was clearly and exclusively prescribed by the inspired writers.

The arguments upon the subject of polity exhausted the patience of some of the laity, who were

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compelled to listen to them. The Marquis of Hertford, one of the King's commissioners, at length observed, "Here is much stated concerning church-government in the general, the reverend doctors on the side of his Majesty affirming that episcopacy is *jure divino*, and the reverend ministers on the other, that presbytery is *jure divino*; for my part, I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any government whatsoever, is *jure divino*; and I desire we may leave this argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular proposals." *

1645. Feb.

The three days which had been adopted for the discussion about religion, were exhausted in these disputes, which were useless; but when the subject was some time after resumed, his Majesty's divines presented the concessions and regulations which the King was willing to approve. He mentioned his resolution, that freedom should be left to all parties, of what opinion soever, in matters of ceremony; that the bishop should exercise no act of jurisdiction, without the consent of his presbyters,

13th Feb.

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 128. He affirms that Stewart began the controversy, and that Henderson replied. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 585, represents Henderson as making the first speech. The authority of Whitelocke, who was present, is certainly to be preferred; but the two writers may be alluding to different days, which is probable, from the circumstance that Whitelocke says Henderson asserted that presbytery was *jure divino*, which he did not do in the speech, the substance of which has been recorded. See also Collier, Vol. II. p. 337, 338. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 510, and Note to that page. Neal, Vol. III. p. 237—240.

to be chosen by the clergy of each diocese, out of the most learned and grave ministers; that bishops should constantly reside in their dioceses, except when specially summoned to attend the King; that, when health permitted, they should preach every Sunday; that ordination should be conferred in the most public and solemn manner, the strictest rules being observed as to the qualifications of those to be ordained; that the bishops should receive none into holy orders, without the approbation and consent of their presbyters, or the greater part of them; and that, for time to come, no person should hold two parsonages or vicarages, with cure of souls. To these were added certain regulations about the bishops' courts, and other subjects connected with the church; with an offer to take into consideration, any change which the parliamentary commissioners might think to be of moment. *

1615.

Had these concessions been made at an earlier period, there can be little doubt that they would have been esteemed sufficient; for, at the commencement of its deliberations, parliament had no intention to abolish prelacy; and the removal of non-residence and pluralities, the bane of every establishment which has hesitated to renounce them, conjoined with the influence given to presbyters over ecclesiastical deliberations, would have restored to epis-

* Royston's Collection, Part ii. p. 449, 450. Whitelocke's Memorial's, p. 132. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 512, 513.

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copacy all its efficiency, and soon have shewn, that, under it, true religion could flourish no less than under presbytery. But the union with the Scotch, and the subscription of the league and covenant, by which that union was cemented, made it necessary to insist, that every form of the hierarchy should be exterminated; and as the King was resolute against this, as he would not agree to the directory, and expressly rejected the covenant, all hope of adjustment soon vanished. Accordingly, the negotiations were, by order of the two houses, brought to an end, to the deep regret of all moderate and sincere patriots, who lamented the evils about to descend on their country.

Issue of the treaty.

22d Feb. Effect of it upon parties in England.

By the termination of the treaty, the presbyterians gained their object; but the high pretensions which they had advanced, and the intolerance which they avowed, rapidly increased a party, which soon acquired the most decided ascendancy. The independents were originally few in number; they were viewed with an unfavourable eye, both by episcopalians and presbyterians; and thus subjected to the contempt and severity of persecution, they expatiated upon the importance and the blessedness of religious freedom. Innumerable sects, many of them professing the wildest tenets, and actuated by the most gloomy and savage enthusiasm, arose in England, during the struggles between the King and the parliament; and these sects naturally supported the independents, by the prevalence of whose sen-

timents they hoped to retain, without molesation, the opinions which they cherished. This was soon perceived by the independents; and thus the ardour for toleration, which had originally been excited in them, as it had been in other denominations, by eagerness to escape from suffering, became, from policy and from anxiety to check or subdue the presbyterians, the spirit of their system; and it continued to be so, after they had acquired power, because they were aware that the slightest departure from it would have separated from them the different sects, and thus restored preponderance to the enemies whom they had so much cause to dread. Hence, while they were firmly attached to their own opinions, they declared their willingness to alter them, if the alteration could be supported by Scripture; and they cheerfully extended to those who did not agree with them, the inestimable privilege of worshipping God according to their consciences, and of holding any tenets which were not incompatible with the decency, the good order, or the existence of society. A contemporary Scotish divine, with the intention of exhibiting them as meriting reprobation, has given to one of his friends the following interesting account of them:—"Many of them preach, and some print, a liberty of conscience, at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions, that every man should be permitted, without any fear, so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience,

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were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the public peace by any seditious or wicked practice. They profess to regard nothing at all what all the reformed, or all the world say, if their sayings be not backed with convincing Scriptures or reason. So far as we yet perceive, they will separate from all the reformed, and will essay, by all they can either do or suffer, to have their new way advanced. The sooner all the reformed declare against them, it will be the better." *

Previous to the treaty at Uxbridge, the independents had formed schemes for undermining the presbyterians. The self-denying ordinance, and the plan for new modelling the army, were artfully intended to increase their own influence; and from this time, they steadily prosecuted the measures which ultimately procured for them, or for Oliver Cromwell, their distinguished leader, the direction of the government. †

State of Scotland.

Whilst these things were taking place in England, the ministers and covenanters in Scotland were proceeding with the same intemperate zeal which had uniformly guided their conduct. In the par-

* Baillie, Vol. II. p. 85. Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, Part II. p. 226, 227. For an account of the tenets of the independents, see their own Apologetical Narrative, quoted by Collier and Neal. Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 131—133.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 118—120. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 138, 139. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 562—570.

liament of the preceding year, the solemn league and covenant had been ratified; and an incident which took place at the time of the meeting of the estates, shews, very strikingly, what was the temper of the nation. One of the most popular preachers delivered a sermon at the commencement of the parliament; this discourse was chiefly occupied in pointing out the distinction between King Charles and King Jesus, and in inculcating, that all who were deeply interested in the cause of Christ, should resist their temporal Sovereign. The irreverence of this language justly excites no less abhorrence, than the dangerous political tenet which it conveyed; but it was heard, by those to whom it was addressed, with the highest delight, and the preacher was rewarded by the applause of the great part of his countrymen. * The General Assembly, which met about the same period, took a strong interest in the civil state of the kingdom. Not contented with ordering an inquisitorial search for those who had not subscribed the covenant, that the censures of the church might be directed against them, it excommunicated the principal persons engaged in rebellion,—that is, in sustaining the royal cause, or who gave to it any assistance; thus pressing religion into the service of their party, and excluding from the society of the faithful, not the impious and the dis-

1644.

May.

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 986, and 988. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 136, 137.

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solute, but those who, however pious and exemplary in their conduct, hesitated to plunge in ruin the monarch whom they had sworn to defend. *

Success of Montrose.

Towards the close of this year, the Marquis of Montrose commenced his brilliant career, and spread consternation amongst the zealous supporters of presbytery, and of the covenant. After the battle of Marston-moor, so unfortunate in its issue to the interests of the King, the Marquis, almost without an attendant, came to Scotland; and, having put himself at the head of a few Irish troops, the inhabitants of Athol and of Badenoch cordially joined him, and he soon saw himself in a situation to meet the army which the committee of estates had raised to oppose him. On the first of September he attacked this army; and, though it was much more numerous than his own, his skill and intrepidity were crowned with a decisive victory. He followed up his success by new and vigorous exertions; he became daily more formidable, and struck terror into his opponents, by whom a little before he had been regarded with contempt. † The violent covenanters, exasperated at what had happened, and

1st Sept.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1644, p. 7, 8.

† Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, Part i. Chap. 5. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 980—986. Traill's MS. Diary. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 140—143. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 92. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 275. Spalding's Hist. Vol. II. p. 233.

following the counsels of the commission of the General Assembly, imprisoned all the friends of Montrose whom they could secure; they appointed a General to succeed Argyll and Lothian, who had resigned their command; and, upon the meeting of parliament, the estates of Montrose and of the Earl of Ayrly were confiscated, and their titles forfeited. A great effect, however, was produced upon some of the ministers, by the events which had recently happened. Suspecting that the Marquis would retain his ascendancy, or disgusted with the vehemence of their party, they distinguished their sermons by a moderation strikingly at variance with the tone which they had once assumed. This tendency to defection alarmed the commission; and that it might be checked, they deposed two ministers, upon the slight ground that they had, upon one occasion, spoken to Montrose. *

1644. Sept.

1645. 2d Jan.

About the commencement of the year, it was judged necessary to hold an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. With the information communicated to it by some of their brethren who had returned from England, the members were highly gratified; and, although they had not gained all which they wished, they expressed their gratitude for the progress which had been made towards in-

An extraordinary General Assembly. 22d Jan.

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 132—134, 135, and 137. There is an error of the press in this part of the work; after p. 144, succeeds p. 126, and so the pages proceed. It is the repeated pages, 132, &c. to which the reference is here made.

CHAP XIX. troducing, what they esteemed a purer mode of worship, and a right form of ecclesiastical polity. There was laid before them the directory, which the Westminster divines had composed, and which, if it was approved by the Assembly, was to receive the sanction of the English parliament. In an excellent preface, the design of framing it is clearly and with wonderful moderation stated. Whilst the wisdom of the first reformers, in employing a book of common prayer, is admitted, the compilers of the directory mention the reasons which had led them to abolish set forms of prayer, and to prescribe, rather the matter than the words of our addresses to the Deity. In this book, the mode in which divine worship was to be conducted in the church of Scotland is specified; and, with a few alterations, gradually adopted, it regulates the practice of that church at the present day. Upon a work so extensively known, it is unnecessary to enlarge; it is enough to observe, that it exhibits much soundness of understanding, and reflects the highest credit upon the eminent men with whom it originated. That it is admirably adapted to answer the great ends for which public worship was instituted, has been proved by the experience of ages; for it is readily admitted, by all who are acquainted with the state of Scotland, that the inhabitants of that kingdom, instructed in religion agreeably to the directory, are not only much more versant in divine truth, than the generality of the people in other

1645. 22d Jan.

countries, but have also, in a greater degree, regulated their lives by the salutary precepts of the Christian faith. The Assembly unanimously ordained, that the directory should be carefully practised by the ministers throughout the kingdom; and they concluded the act for this purpose with returning thanks to God, for bringing the so much wished for conformity in religion to so happy a period. The directory, with the ecclesiastical ordinance enforcing it, was, in a few days after, ratified by the estates. * CHAP. XIX. 1645. 3d Feb. 6th Feb.

The political sentiments entertained by the church were no less decidedly expressed, than their zeal for religion. Rutherford, one of the most eminent of the covenanters, had, about this time, published a work, entitled, *Lex, Rex*, in which he went far beyond the principles which Buchanan, in his memorable treatise, *De Jure Regni*, had inculcated; avowing opinions most hostile to the existence of monarchy, and which, under any well-regulated government, would have been punished as sedition. With this production, however, his brethren, and the laity who adhered to him, were much delighted; and they soon shewed, by the language which Feb.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1645. Act of Parliament prefixed to the Directory, which was published by order of the Assembly, and is now generally bound up with the Confession of Faith. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 85—88, and 90. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 139.

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they used to the King, how much they were influenced by its principles. *

Taking under consideration the dangers to which the nation was exposed, they resolved to address a solemn and serious warning to all classes of men, including the armies within and without the kingdom. After dwelling upon those judgments of God which threatened the country, and declaring, that the cause of these was not rebellion or disloyalty in them, as the sons of Belial considered the solemn league and covenant to be; they thus enumerated their public sins:—"God hath sent his sword to punish the contempt, neglect, and desertion of his glorious gospel;" and under this head, they draw a most gloomy, and probably exaggerated representation of the national depravity. 2. "To avenge the quarrel of his broken covenant." Their language, in reference to this part of their iniquity, shews the sentiments of the zealous covenanters. "Besides the defection of many of the nation, under the prelates, from our first national covenant, a sin not forgotten by God, our latter vows and covenants have also been foully violated by not contributing our uttermost assistance to this cause, with our estates and lives; by not endeavouring with all faithful-

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 139. Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, published at Edinburgh, 1721, in two volumes, folio, Vol. I. p. 10, and Appendix, No. 5. To this valuable work, containing many interesting documents, I shall soon have occasion to refer.

ness, the discovery, trial, and condign punishment of malignants, and evil instruments, and by indulging in the commission of many aggravated sins." 1645. To these were added other causes of the divine wrath, and, after enjoining humiliation, repentance, faith, and amendment of life, they declared, that, from the perilous state of the kingdom, assailed by open enemies, by the Popish, prelatical, and malignant faction, and by secret malignants, and disc- venanters, who slighted the public resolutions of the church and state, slandered the covenant, and commended and justified the proceeding of James Grahame, sometime Earl of Montrose, new duties were incumbent upon all devout and sincere patriots. They admonished all, as they valued every thing which men should hold dear, to appear actively, each one stretching himself to, yea beyond his power; they called upon ministers to stir up their people by free and faithful preaching; they called upon the armies to beware of ungodliness and licentiousness; they adjured every man to assist in carrying into execution the measures judged necessary for securing liberty and reformation of religion, and not to suffer himself, by any threatening, to be alienated from the blessed union and conjunction, either by open defection, or by detestable indifference. They concluded this singular document, so wonderfully calculated to rouse the energies of their countrymen, and to create that determined and savage courage which sinks the tenderness of huma-

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nity in eagerness to accomplish its object, by promising deliverance and success to all who cleaved unto the Lord, and whose hearts were upright towards his glory. It is apparent, that this warning was composed under the persuasion, that the vigorous prosecution of hostilities was indispensable; but it is always melancholy to contemplate a state of society in which even the gentle voice of religion is exchanged for the trumpet sounding to battle; when men whose profession should lead them to lessen the calamities of human life, strengthen habits so little consonant with the benevolent spirit which, in happier periods, they would have delighted to diffuse. That such a state may exist cannot be doubted, and although it may perhaps be questioned, whether an agreement with the King might not at this period have been obtained, it ought not to be forgotten that, had not the unconstitutional exertions of the prerogative been steadily resisted, absolute despotism might have been entailed on our country; and it might have been cast back into that darkness of superstition, from which, by the most brilliant display of fortitude, aided by the interposition of Providence, it had been happily delivered.

The title of the paper seems to indicate, that it was merely a conscientious admonition which might be disregarded; it was, however, an order rather than a warning, for it was not only to be read in all churches, but the commissioners of the Assembly

were authorized to try and censure those by whom it should be contemned or disobeyed. *

1645. 18th Feb. Remonstrance addressed to the King.

Having thus addressed their fellow-subjects, they determined not to spare the sovereign, and they prepared for his inspection what they chose to denominate the humble remonstrance of the church of Scotland. After dwelling upon their loyalty, and adducing as a proof of it, their former remonstrances, their covenants, and the whole course of their proceedings in the present troubles, they thus audaciously, and harshly reproached the unhappy monarch. "Our country is now infested, the blood of divers of our brethren spilt, and other acts of most barbarous and horrid cruelty exercised by the cursed crew of the Irish rebels, and their accomplices in this kingdom, under the conduct of such as have commission and warrant from your Majesty. We make bold to warn you freely, that the guilt which cleaveth fast to your Majesty, and to your throne, is such as, if not timely repented, cannot but involve yourself and your posterity under the wrath of the ever living God. For your being guilty of shedding the blood of many thousands of your best subjects,—for your permitting the mass,—and, after idolatry both in your own family and in your dominions, for your authorizing, by the book of sports, the profanation of the Lord's day,—for your not pu-

* The paper is printed at full length amongst the published acts of the Assembly, 1645.

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nishing of public scandals, and much profaneness in and about your court,—for your shutting your ears from the just and humble desires of your faithful subjects,—for your complying too much with the Popish party many ways, and especially by your concluding the cessation of arms in Ireland, and your embracing the counsels of those who have not set God or your good before their eyes,—for your resisting and opposing this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, your own honour and happiness, and the peace and safety of your kingdoms,—for all these it is high time for your Majesty to fall down at the footstool of the King of Glory, to acknowledge your offence, to repent timely, to make your peace with God, through Jesus Christ, (whose blood is able to wash away your great sin) and to be no longer unwilling that the Son of God reign over you and your kingdoms, in his pure ordinances of church-government and worship." *

It is impossible to read this strain of indecent expostulation, in which the most atrocious guilt, and the most obstinate impiety are charged upon the King, without being satisfied, that so long as the party by which it was dictated retained their influence, all possibility of agreement was suspended.

* Humble remonstrance, printed amongst acts of Assembly, 1645. It is also published by Rushworth, in Vol. V. of his Collections, Part i. p. 229, 230. This volume of the Collections was published at London 1701, in two parts. I shall quote it, Vol. V. Part first and second.

Much false representation the ministers here employ to blacken Charles, and to hold him up to the detestation of his people; whilst the hypocrisy with which professions of loyalty are conjoined with the foulest slander, must shock every fair and honourable mind. It was perfectly competent for the General Assembly, if it regarded the King as hostile to the civil and religious rights of his subjects to complain, and to declare, that, unless these were secured, they would not acknowledge his authority; but no provocation could warrant many parts of the remonstrance, whilst he to whom it was addressed still received the appellation of a sovereign. It is to be remembered, that the remonstrance was written at the time of the negociations at Uxbridge; and this fact may render it evident how impracticable it would have been for the King then to make peace, and how little ground there is for attributing to a vaunting letter of Montrose, rather than to his own mature opinion, that the treaty was not successfully terminated. 1645.

It is pleasant to turn from the violent expressions of party-zeal to dwell upon other proceedings of the General Assembly, for which it is entitled to the gratitude and admiration of posterity. The warmth of their political ardour did not render the members indifferent to the intellectual improvement of their countrymen. They sanctioned a number of proposals for securing suitable qualifications in those to whom the instruction of youth was committed;

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they appointed all schools and universities to be regularly examined; rules were suggested for preventing young men, who had not attained the requisite knowledge, from being advanced in their course; the strictest care in deciding upon the attainments of those upon whom degrees were to be conferred, was recommended; and there was displayed a zeal for classical learning, which shews how unsound is the general opinion, that the love of science had, soon after the reformation, decayed amongst the clergy of Scotland. *

Fresh successes of Montrose.

Whilst the Assembly was proceeding in its deliberations, it was agitated and alarmed by the intelligence of another victory gained by the Marquis of Montrose; but the members endeavoured to prevent its effect upon the minds of the people, by representing it as of little moment, and by disingenuously asserting, what they knew to be false, that the army which was with Argyll had lost only a few men. † Montrose, through the spring and summer, continued his exertions. It is unnecessary to enumerate his various splendid achievements, and it would be painful to dwell upon the desolation which was spread

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1645. It is much to be desired, that universities in the present day would pay more regard than they do to some of the regulations of the Assembly, particularly to that one in which, with becoming concern for the honour of science, it enjoins, that degrees should be given only to those of respectable literary qualifications.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 141, 142, compared with Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 93.

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through the districts which were successively wasted by the rival armies, the horrors of which were dreadfully agravated by the ravages of pestilence over the greater part of Scotland. The people were filled with despondency, and it required all the zeal of the ministers to prevent them from deserting the standards of the covenant. Even that zeal for some time failed of success. Montrose having increased the number of his followers, was attacked at Kilsyth by the army under Baillie, and, after a desperate conflict, in which no quarter seems to have been given, he gained a victory which, for a short period, appeared to decide the fate of the kingdom. The most distinguished of the covenanters fled to Berwick or to Ireland; deputations from many of the neighbouring towns solicited pardon for the part which they had acted against the King; and the successful commander was joined by several noblemen and gentlemen who had previously supported the popular faction. He was invited to come to Glasgow, and, having entered that city, he was received with every testimony of respect and admiration. His conduct was marked by humanity, or guided by that sound policy which shewed him the importance of effacing by kindness the impressions which had been made against him. To the persons who asked forgiveness, he granted their request with the most winning condescension, and dismissed them after they had promised to be in future faithful to their Sovereign. Solicitous for

1645.

15th Aug.

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the preservation and comfort of his own friends, several of whom had been imprisoned in Edinburgh, he required their deliverance, and sent to take the metropolis under his protection. *

Montrose appointed captain-general and deputy-governor of Scotland.

About this time, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son of the archbishop, and who now acted as secretary of state, brought from the King to Montrose his Majesty's commission, appointing him captain-general and deputy-governor of Scotland, with power to confer the order of knighthood, and to summon parliaments. In virtue of this, he appointed a parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of the ensuing month of October. † He was now at the summit of his elevation. He had intimidated or cut off the forces by which he was opposed; he saw almost the whole of Scotland under his control; he was apparently strengthened by the addition of new friends; and he was raised by the Sovereign to the highest honour which could be conferred on him. His great object should have been to keep the advantage which he had gained,—to root out the covenanters, and to secure the whole kingdom for his master; but he formed schemes which precipitated his ruin, and numberless causes conspir-

* Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, Part i. chap. 13 and 14. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 143—156. General Baillie's Vindication of himself, in Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 264—279. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 618. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 167.

† Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, p. 139, 140. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 156, 157.

ed to wrest from him the commanding situation to which he had attained. In his own camp there was much dissension. His troops, hastily collected, were eager to return to their homes,—discontent was fostered by the concealed agents of the covenanters,—and the atrocities of which his soldiers had been guilty, led the mass of the people to view his cause with abhorrence. Elated, however, with his success, he did not see the wisdom of guarding against any diminution of his strength, and, having been invited by Hume and Roxburgh to proceed to the south, he commenced his march, although he had been deserted by a great part of his army. The covenanting lords no sooner recovered from their alarm than they united against him, and, having recalled David Leslie from England, that general crossed the borders to aid his party, by crushing an army who had become so formidable. Montrose soon found that he had been betrayed by some in whom he confided, and, having heard of Leslie's approach, he wisely determined to retire to the Highlands, where he might have defied an attack. Leslie, however, pressed upon him,—an engagement took place, in which Montrose, although contending against far superior numbers, displayed his usual courage and presence of mind,—and, after a gallant resistance, he cut his way through the enemy, carrying with him his cavalry. A small body of infantry kept their ground, and Leslie at length agreed to give them quarter. This displeased the

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1645.

Destruction of his army.

13th Sept.

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1645.

ministers, who, it has been affirmed, basely insisted that the promise should be withdrawn. The general, unable, or unwilling to resist their importunities, tarnished the bright honour of a soldier by allowing his troops to rush upon the unhappy men who had surrendered their arms, and, deprived of all means of defence, they were cut to pieces. Many of distinguished rank were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Sir Robert Spottiswoode, who had long been detested by the covenanters. Montrose was not disheartened at the sad reverse which he had experienced, but he never after this could make any impression upon his enemies, and he continued vainly endeavouring to raise an army, till Charles recalled his commission. *

Cruelty of the Covenanters, particularly of the Ministers.

It cannot be matter of astonishment that this victory, obtained at a time when the prospect of the covenanters was most gloomy, excited in their minds the highest gratitude and delight; but it is shocking to think that they displayed a savage violence, which justly deserves the reprobation of posterity. Not only were those who fled from the battle inhumanly massacred, but, after all danger was past, many of the prisoners were put to death.

* Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, Part i. chap. xvi. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 157—162. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 164. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 231. Burnet's Hist of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 52, 53. Trail's MS. Diary. This writer says, "The victory that the Lord gave unto us, when we were brought very low, did bring much joy to all the Lord's people throughout Scotland."

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Sir Robert Spottiswoode was condemned and executed, merely on the ground that he had conveyed to Montrose the commission of that Sovereign whom all still professed to serve and to defend. Some of the nobles recommended milder proceedings; but the clergy insisted that God required the blood of his enemies, and their influence for some time could not be resisted. At length, however, the committee of the church was obliged to yield to the abhorrence of shedding blood, which was prevalent even amongst their own adherents; and they satisfied themselves by recommending, that the rest of the prisoners should, by immoderate fines, be reduced to poverty.* 1645.

The affairs of the King become hopeless. 14th June.

Whilst the presbyterians were regaining the ascendancy in Scotland, the King's affairs in England became daily more hopeless. By the battle of Naseby, which terminated in a decisive victory to the parliament, his military resources were so much

* Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, Part i. chapters xvii. xviii. xix. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 165—169. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 52, 53. Trail's MS. Diary. Laing's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 302, 303. This writer represents the accounts given by the royalist writers of the atrocities of the covenanters as much exaggerated, and he insinuates that the story of the massacre of a body of infantry is unfounded. That the royalists exhibited the cruelty of their enemies in too strong a light is very probable, but, after making every possible abatement, that conduct was most unmerciful. Indeed, this may be gathered from the language held by the covenanters in all their public documents. I see no reason for disbelieving the story of the massacre. It is explicitly mentioned by Guthrie, and Burnet was convinced of its truth.

CHAP. XIX. 1645.

exhausted that he was unable again to meet the enemy with any hope of success, and he now trusted to those dissensions amongst themselves, the operation of which was becoming more apparent.*

The presbyterians, not satisfied with the resolution in favour of their ecclesiastical polity, insisted, that ministers should have full power to exclude from the Lord's supper, and from other Christian privileges; whilst the parliament, conceiving that this would vest in the clergy an authority which might be employed wantonly to blast the reputation, or invade the comfort of those with whom they were displeased, insisted, that there should be a precise enumeration of the sins which shut out from communion with the church. To this most reasonable wish, the zealots of the presbyterian faction were decidedly adverse; and although they did consent that some vices should be specified, they insisted, that a general clause, authorising them arbitrarily to reject, should be inserted in the ordinance which they solicited.†

The independents, rapidly increasing in strength and in numbers, were indignant at this encroachment upon religious liberty, and they took advantage of the intolerance of their opponents to excite

* Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 657—659. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 116, 117. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 517, 518.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 150, and 168. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 165, 166, and 169, 170.

against them the prejudices of all whom they could influence. They dwelt upon the necessity of toleration to the peace and happiness of the community; and sensible that, whilst the Scotish army remained in England, they could not gain the ascendancy to which they aspired, they filled the houses of parliament and the nation with complaints of its inactivity,—of the enormous expence of maintaining it,—and of the licentiousness and devastation of which, notwithstanding the piety of its generals, and the earnest admonitions of the ministers who attended it, there can be no doubt that it was shamefully guilty. These evils, which were perceived or felt by all, rendered the continuance of the Scotish forces in England unpopular, and Cromwell evidently intended that they should be compelled to return. * 1645.

The King trusted that, by fomenting these dissensions, or by offering to make peace, he would secure some of the parties, and get from parliament much more favourable terms than those to which he had hitherto been required to consent. He had been advised to join the presbyterians, and to intrigue with the independents; and he made, towards the end of the year, several proposals to the two houses for an accommodation. He was however regarded by all with suspicion or distrust; and not-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 141, 142, and 160—162. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 165—170.

CHAP. XIX. 1646.

withstanding the growing dissatisfaction of the Scotish commissioners with the measures adopted by the English parliament, they cordially agreed in such an answer to his Majesty as might have convinced him that he had nothing to hope from the policy which he had determined to pursue. Yet harassed and disheartened, he clung to the project of negociation; and he at length offered, upon obtaining security for himself and his followers, to disband his forces, to come to London attended only by a royal escort, to pass an act of oblivion, and to do whatever they should advise him for the good and peace of the kingdom.* Even these humiliating proposals were rejected by his enemies, who dreaded his appearance in the metropolis; and thus driven to despair, he formed the resolution of delivering himself to the Scotish army, resting upon assurances, which, without proper authority, Montreville, a French agent, had given to him, that he and his adherents would be safe in their persons and consciences, and that the army would unite with him in whatever was requisite for obtaining a well-grounded and lasting peace. He accordingly carried his design into execution. Leaving Oxford in disguise, attended by Ashburnham, groom of his bed-

March 23.

April 27.

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 175, and 183. King's messages to both houses of parliament in Royston's Collection, p. 575—592. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 189, 190, and 198, 199. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. Part ii. p. 742—753. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 520, 521.

chamber, and Hudson, a divine, he wandered through different parts of the kingdom, apparently undecided as to the course which he should follow; but at length, on the ninth day after commencing his journey, he reached the Scotish camp before Newark. *

1646.

He arrives at the Scotish camp, 5th or 6th May.

Leslie, the General, was astonished when the approach of the King was announced to him. He immediately went out, and received him with respect, but he instantly dispatched to London and to Scotland, intelligence of an event in which all parties were so deeply interested. Parliament was filled with consternation at the report of the King's escape; and a rumour having been circulated that he was actually in the metropolis, an ordinance was published, "that what person soever should harbour or conceal, or know of the harbouring and concealing of the King's person, and should not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both houses, should be proceeded against as a traitor to the common-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 200, and 206. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 267. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 274. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 202, 208, and 209. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 22. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 170, 171, and 175. There is no doubt that a negociation had taken place between Montreville and the Scotish leaders, and that some terms had been discussed, but Montreville either mistook their import, or deluded the King. No written document was produced by him, and the solemn declaration of the Scotish commissioners to the house of Peers, corroborated as it is by other circumstances, renders it certain that no such pledge as Montreville mentioned was given.

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wealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy." Their alarm was dissipated by the information from the Scotish General; and they passed a resolution, that Leslie and the commissioners should be requested to consent that his Majesty's person might be disposed of as both houses should direct. *

May.

Manner in which he was treated.

Although, upon his first arrival, the King was attended with apparently becoming respect, he soon found that he was not at liberty. Leven insisted upon his ordering the governor of Newark to surrender the garrison, and when this was done, the army marched back to Newcastle. †

The committee of the estates, which was sitting in Edinburgh, upon hearing that his Majesty was with their army, sent a deputation, including the Earl of Lanerick, who at this time acted with the covenanters, to express the deep interest which they took in the preservation of his royal person; and to declare, that his just power and greatness they should ever be solicitous to procure. The real import of these professions the unhappy monarch could not for a moment mistake; for they were instantly to be followed with an intimation of its being expected that he would give full satisfaction to his subjects, and that as a preparation to this, he would immediately recall the commissions which he had

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 203, 204. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 206.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 175. Whitelocke, p. 204. Crawford's Lives, p. 209. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 80.

given against the kingdom; in other words, that he would cast off the friends who had exposed their fortunes and their lives in defence of the prerogative. *

1646. May.

Had his subjects in Scotland not been connected with the parliament and the presbyterian faction in England, they could not have desired a more favourable opportunity for an accommodation. Of the insincerity with which he had often acted, they had sufficient experience; but his interest and his duty were now conjoined, and his power was so much diminished, that, had his own conscience not been assailed, he would have gladly consented to any measures by which the civil and religious rights of his people could have been secured to them. Intoxicated however with the idea of establishing one form of church-government through the whole of Britain, and believing that, if they relinquished this scheme, they would sacrifice the cause of heaven, they instructed their commissioners to act in concert with the two houses, and to agree to nothing by which the union of the countries could be interrupted or destroyed. † They accordingly urged the King to send a message to the two houses, expressing his anxiety for a speedy peace; and they united in framing, or in sanction-

Negociations with him.

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 274. Guthrie's Memoirs, p.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 204. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 274. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 268.

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ing the proposals which were afterwards made to him, as the ground of an agreement. He was now convinced, that compliance to the utmost extent to which he could conscientiously go, was requisite.

1646. May.

18th May. He accordingly offered to his parliament to grant what had been required at Uxbridge, and afterwards intreated, that they would submit to him the terms

1st June. upon which they had agreed; he wrote to Montrose, desiring him to disband his forces; he gave orders that all the garrisons which still held out, should be surrendered; and, in general, assured them of his determination to do whatever was necessary for the happiness of his subjects, and for removing the differences which had so long subsisted. *

But, notwithstanding all this, he soon found that he must renounce his conviction and his principles before he could retain even the shadow of royalty. He was unceasingly importuned by the Scotish commissioners, by the General Assembly, and by the committee of states, to subscribe the covenant, and to settle religion as it prescribed. Even the army presented an address to him by the Lord-General and the other officers, in which they said, "We do not conceal our unfeigned grief, for that your Majesty hath not yet been pleased to authorize and sign the covenant, which we are confident would bring honour to God, happiness to yourself

* Royston's Collection, Part ii. p. 595—599. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 274, 275. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 176, 177. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 30. Montrose's Memoirs, p. 195, 196

and posterity, and endear your Majesty above measure to your faithful and loyal subjects. *

1646. June.

Thus assailed, he acted with a firmness and a moderation which reflect high honour upon his temper and his understanding. Rivetted to his own religious sentiments, he still avowed that he was open to conviction; that if he were satisfied in his conscience of the lawfulness of what was desired of him, then, but not till then, would he grant what was demanded; and he declared his willingness to enter into a conference upon the points at issue, with any one who should be appointed to conduct it. †

The steadiness with which he adhered to what respected the church, has been considered as evidence, that, in all his negociations, he was insincere. It seems, however, at this period of his life, rather to warrant an opposite conclusion. Had his object now been to deceive, and had his sense of integrity been so blunted that he had no scruple to follow a system of delusion, it is in the highest degree probable, that he would have consented to all which was required, and that he would even have subscribed the covenant, with this mental reservation, that, as the subscription had been extorted, it was binding only while it was his interest to act in conformity to it. Had he done this, he would have em-

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 304, 305. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 275. Printed Acts of Assembly, 1646.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 277.

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barrassed his enemies; he would probably have gained the most powerful men in Scotland; and he would at all events have opened the only way by which he could possibly retain his throne. Had he at this critical moment been treated with tenderness, and been permitted to adhere to his own religious sentiments, it is not unlikely that he would have made no attempt to subvert the presbyterian polity, and would have continued to be guided by the maxims of a limited monarchy.

His controversy with Henderson about episcopacy.

May and June.

In compliance with his proposal for a conference, Henderson was employed to enlighten his mind and purify his faith. This eminent divine was selected, as in every respect best adapted for the delicate office committed to him, and the choice was the most judicious which could have been made. With all his zeal he seems to have entertained much reverence for the King; his manners were, for his age, mild and conciliating; and he had paid minute attention to the subjects which he was to discuss. Various papers, which are still extant, passed between him and the sovereign. Charles defended episcopacy with a weight of argument, and an extent of erudition, which are really astonishing, bringing into the view of his antagonist the most specious reasons upon which the divine origin of the hierarchy has been rested; whilst Henderson, with much talent and dexterity, supported the polity of his own church, urging, that episcopacy is not explicitly enjoined by our Lord or his apostles, and examining

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the historical assertions by which the King fortified his arguments. The manner in which his Majesty conducted the controversy, plainly shews, that he must previously have investigated the subject, and that his opinions were not rashly adopted. He is considered by several writers as having shewn more ingenuity and learning than his opponent; and some of his partizans lamented that his sword was not wielded with the same vigour as his pen. In forming a judgment of the papers, men may be influenced by their previous sentiments, but the controversy, as might have been foreseen, produced no change of opinion in those to whom it was entrusted. *

Aug. Death and character of Henderson.

Soon after this, Henderson, who had been exhausted by disease, died in Scotland, and some did not hesitate to assert, that his dissolution was hastened by mortification that he had been defeated; whilst others, going beyond this, affirmed that he had been converted by his sovereign; that, on his death-bed, he lamented the part which he had acted, and renounced presbytery which he had so strenuously supported. All these assertions are without foundation. The General Assembly, the members

* The papers are preserved in Royston's Collection, Part i. p. 155—187. The King's first paper is dated 29th May, and his last the 16th of July. It is proper to mention, that he had no assistance in composing them. Collier, Vol. II. p. 842—848. He supposes that Henderson was sent after the propositions of parliament were submitted to the King; but this was, as is evident from dates, not the case. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 321. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 277.

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of which enjoyed every advantage for ascertaining the truth, published, in their official acts, a refutation of the statement, and their account was confirmed by a variety of evidence which, from other sources, was obtained.

In Henderson, the church and the kingdom experienced a severe loss. He had, from an early period, acquired a decided ascendancy over ecclesiastical proceedings; and, with considerable learning and great talents, he conjoined a justness of sentiment, and a moderation which, though not sufficient to stem the torrent, often gave to it a salutary direction. Zealous for his party, and deeply impressed with the importance of setting bounds to the prerogative, he cordially joined in the measures requisite for doing so; but there is every reason to believe, that, had his life been preserved, he would have exerted himself to restrain the violent dissensions, and the unchristian practices, which, ere long, disgraced those with whom he had associated; and that he would have gladly contributed to rescue his unfortunate sovereign from the melancholy fate which awaited him. His death was justly lamented by the covenanters. They had been accustomed to venerate him as their guide; they had left to him the choice of the most difficult steps, which, in resisting episcopal tyranny, they had been compelled to take; his memory was associated with one of the most interesting struggles in which his countrymen had ever been engaged; and they honoured that

memory by every expression of esteem; transmitting, by monumental inscriptions, and by solicitude to rescue him from misrepresentation, their deep regret that they were for ever deprived of his assistance, which their critical situation, and the highly agitated state of the public mind, would then have rendered peculiarly important. *

* Heylin in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 477,—Collier in his Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 848. upon Heylin's authority, the author of a pamphlet, entitled, "The declaration of Mr Alexander Henderson upon his death-bed;" and Hollingworth in a pamphlet, entitled the Character of King Charles the First, from the declaration of Mr A. Henderson, have made the charges against Henderson, or relating to him, which I have mentioned. That they are totally unfounded, the reader will be satisfied, by consulting the Printed Acts of the General Assembly, 1648, p. 43, 44.; a pamphlet written by Lieutenant-General Ludlow, and printed at London 1698, entitled, "Truth brought to light, or the gross forgeries of Dr Hollingworth, &c. detected." Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 232.; and Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 321—324, and Note to p. 323, where the subject is fully discussed. The character of Henderson may be inferred from the various incidents of his life which have been recorded; but, in justice to his reputation, a few testimonies, from writers of different sentiments, I have thought it right to subjoin. Rushworth, Vol. V. Part i. p. 321, speaking of his death, says, "He died about the end of August, much lamented by those of his party, being indeed a person of great learning and abilities, and more moderation than many of them." Collier, Vol. II. p. 848, admits, "that he was a person of learning, elocution, and judgment, and at the top of his party." Baillie, who was intimately acquainted with him, writes, Vol. II. p. 232, "he died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith;" and Bishop Burnet allows, "that he was by much the wisest and the gravest of them all; that he found he could not moderate the heat of some fiery spirits; and that when he saw that he could follow them no more, he sunk in body and mind, and soon after died." Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 44. See also White

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locke's Memorials, p. 221. Ludlow, in his pamphlet above quoted, has preserved the inscriptions upon Henderson's tomb, which were nearly obliterated in 1662. One of them states, that he was a man truly excellent and divine, famous for all sorts of virtue, but chiefly for piety, learning, and prudence; equally respected by his most serene Majesty and the parliaments of both kingdoms. The man who has been thus delineated, even by those little friendly to his principles and political conduct, must have been truly respectable, and ought not to be regarded, as he has often, in latter times been as an intemperate enthusiast, and a turbulent incendiary.

CHAPTER TWENTIETH.

Views of the parties united against the King....Firmness with which he acted....Montrose leaves Scotland....Further proceedings respecting the King.....He rejects the propositions of the Parliament....Effect of this.....Parliament in Scotland....The King delivered up by the Scotch .....Reflections upon this....State of the Presbyterian Polity.....Power of the Independents....They get the Sovereign into their possession.....Transactions in Scotland.....Negociation between the King and the Scotish Commissioners.....An agreement is concluded....Particulars of it relating to religion....It is violently opposed by the Ministers....Their influence....Efforts of the King's friends.....Firmness of the Scotish Parliament....Resolution to support Charles, and to raise Forces....General Assembly.....Remarks upon the state of the Kingdom.... Defeat of Hamilton at Preston....Effects of that Defeat.....Treaty with the Church faction.....Remarks upon it....Violence of the enemies to the engagement....The King condemned and executed.....His character.....Consequence of his death.

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1646. Views of the parties united a-

WHILST attempts were thus making to induce the King to change his sentiments with respect to ecclesiastical polity, the two houses of parliament, in conjunction with the commissioners from Scotland, were, agreeably to his request, preparing the propo-

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1646. gainst the King.

sitions to be submitted to him, as the ground-work of peace. In the deliberations upon these proposals, the views of the different parties were distinctly unfolded. The Scotish commissioners, guided by the feelings of the great majority of their countrymen, and by the recommendations and injunctions of the judicatories of the church, whilst they steadily contemplated the establishment of civil liberty, were chiefly solicitous that conformity, as pointed out by the covenant, should be fully carried into execution; that presbyteries should be erected; that the power of excluding from the sacraments should be vested in the ministers; and, above all, that sects should be exterminated, and the hated tenet of liberty of conscience be proscribed. Had they been able, through the aid of the King, to effect these objects, they would not have hesitated to relax some of the political restraints under which he was to be laid, and they would have considered themselves as bound to support his throne. Their zeal was at this time increased by the obstacles which they had to encounter. They found the two houses uniformly hostile to the exclusive dominion of presbytery; they had lamented this to the ministers in Scotland; and the General Assembly had repeatedly expressed its abhorrence at what they attributed to coldness in the best of causes.

With the Scotish commissioners, however, the English presbyterians, who were very numerous, particularly about London and its vicinity, cordially

acted. They, too, had bewailed the increase of sects, and the indulgence which had been shown to them; and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and common council of the metropolis, had presented a remonstrance to parliament, one great design of which was, to quicken the attempts of the legislature to suppress all private congregations, and to proceed against anabaptists, heretics, and sectaries, that all might be compelled to obey the government settled, or to be settled, and that no one, disaffected to presbytery, might be employed in any public trust. This was treated with contempt; and the General Assembly, irritated at what so nearly affected its own principles, expressed, in a letter to the Lords and Commons, the highest approbation of the remonstrance which had been despised. *

1646. 26th May.

The majority of the committee of parliament for adjusting the propositions, wished, on the other hand, that all sects which did not violate the laws should be protected; they were eager to prevent the restoration of peace, which would have undermined their own influence; and they were secretly desirous, that, monarchy being abolished, a republican form of government should be introduced. Hence they laboured so to frame the proposals, as

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 278, 279. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 206, 207, and 215. Printed Acts of General Assembly, 1646, p. 17—20. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 307, 308. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 218.

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that the King might reject them; and they dreaded nothing more than his compliance with the demands of his subjects. With this view, they resisted the desire of the Scotish commissioners, to make some concessions to Charles; and they would also have resisted the article for uniformity of religion, had they not dreaded that they would thus lose the advantage which they had already gained. After much discussion, all parties agreed, and the proposals were at length laid before the King. In reference to the church, he was required to sign the covenant, and to sanction an act for its being universally taken; to consent to the abolition of the hierarchy; to confirm unity and uniformity in religion; and to take severe and intolerant measures against the adherents of popery. *

11th July

Firmness with which the King acted. April.

The Duke of Hamilton, who had some time before this been released from imprisonment, and who, upon his return to Scotland, had been appointed by the covenanters to go to London, as one of their commissioners, immediately, upon the propositions being approved, went to Newcastle, that he might inform the King of their nature, and urge him to such compliance as seemed requisite for preserving

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 207, and 215. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 279, and 283. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 205, 209, 217, and 218. Royston's Collection, Part ii. p. 601, 602. Clarendon's History, Vol. III. Part i. p. 36.

his crown. * After some feelings of embarrassment, occasioned by the circumstances attending his late confinement, had been removed, he unfolded to his Majesty the designs of all the parties; and, in that spirit of temporizing policy which had marked his conduct, he earnestly implored Charles to yield, pressing upon him all the arguments which ingenuity, not guided by the most scrupulous integrity, could devise. The King, however, remained inflexible; and when the propositions were presented, he declared that to some of them he could not consent without violating principles, a sacred regard to which he preferred to all the splendour of royalty. The commissioners of both kingdoms, upon their knees, entreated him to alter his resolution; and Loudon, the chancellor of Scotland, in a long speech, besought him, as he valued his crown, not to hesitate in giving the pledge which was required. But what he had been satisfied was right, did not change its nature, because he saw it to be inexpedient; and he nobly replied, that no condition to which he could be reduced, would be so deplorable as that to which they were persuading him to reduce himself; that they might take their own way; and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not. Finding their efforts vain, the English commissioners returned to London. They were

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* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 272, and 279. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 180.

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followed by the Marquis of Argyll, Loudon, the chancellor, and the Earl of Dunfermline; but the Duke of Hamilton and his brother, the Earl of Lanerick, went to Scotland, to endeavour to prevail upon the committee of estates to be satisfied with the concessions which the King had offered to make. *

Montrose leaves Scotland. 2d Sept.

Whilst the negotiations were proceeding at Newcastle, Charles was much distressed about the fate of the Marquis of Montrose. He had, in compliance with the request from Scotland, ordered that gallant nobleman to disperse his troops; and, reluctant as the Marquis was to obey an injunction wrung from his sovereign, he determined to do whatever could promote the interest of his master. His majesty saw the hazard to which this general was exposed. He had been excommunicated by the church, and declared a traitor by the parliament; the ministers, regarding him with abhorrence, had imparted their feelings to the multitude, to whose fury there was much danger of his falling a sacrifice. The King requested the Duke of Hamilton, although the enemy of Montrose, to secure his safety; and Middleton, who commanded the troops of the covenanters, was prevailed upon to

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 281—284. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 218. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 37. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 319—321. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181—185. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 224—226. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 210, 211.

permit the Marquis to leave the kingdom,—it being stipulated that he was excluded from pardon. The commission of the church were indignant that even such terms were granted, and they affirmed that, to allow Montrose to escape, was a violation of the covenant; but Middleton having, with a soldier's honour, adhered to the agreement, the Marquis sailed from Scotland, and, having landed in Norway, he, by a circuitous route, reached France, to wait upon the Queen. * 1646. Sept.

Hamilton, upon his return from Newcastle, represented to all whom he hoped to influence, the injustice and cruelty of urging the King to violate his conscience; endeavoured to convince them, that his determination not to sign the covenant, could proceed only from steady principle; and pointed out to them that, as the independents and sectaries, from whom a settlement of religion, agreeably to the covenant, could not be expected, were the prevailing party, it would be injurious to the cause for which they had long contended, to withdraw the army from England, till peace was actually concluded. In all this there was so much force, that many were shaken by it; but the ministers, who were dissatisfied with Hamilton's interference in favour of Montrose, and who were violently irritated against the King for not ratifying the cove- Farther proceedings respecting the King. Aug.

* Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, Part i. chap. 21. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 280, 281, compared with Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 179, 180. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 216.

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nant, enlarged upon the criminality of engaging in his cause, till he had complied with all their demands. It was, in consequence of this, concluded, that a new deputation should be sent, to insist upon his Majesty's unconditional assent to the propositions of both nations; a resolution, plainly indicating what part they would take, if he continued firm to the purpose which he had avowed. Hamilton reluctantly, it is said, consented to be one of this insulting embassy; and he ventured again to state to the King the arguments which he had formerly used. But although Charles professed that he did not give an absolute denial, and that he only desired to be heard; although he went so far as to say, that he would agree to episcopacy being established in a few dioceses, and would leave the rest of the kingdom under the presbyterian polity, strictly prohibiting the independents; still, as he insisted upon his own conscience not being shackled, the commissioners reported to the committee of estates that he had refused to acquiesce in what was demanded. Upon this, the commission of the General Assembly urged that an immediate resolution should be taken respecting him; and, in their anxiety to prevent any diversion in his favour, they, for a moment, laid aside their intolerance, and demanded that their army, which embarrassed the rising party in the English parliament, should be called home, because it was wrong to press the consciences of men; a declaration most true, but certainly not very

1646. 18th Aug.

Sept.

He continues firm.

16th Sep.

consistent with the practice of those who made it, and who were at this moment doing, in the most offensive manner, what, for a particular purpose, they affected to condemn. After much discussion, however, a final decision was delayed till the parliament met in November.* CHAP. XX. 1646.

When the intelligence that the King had rejected the propositions reached London, it excited very different feelings, according to the sentiments of those to whom it was communicated. The presbyterians sincerely lamented it, but the independents heartily rejoiced, because they saw the way to the subversion of the throne now opened. Cromwell and his friends accordingly insisted, that no more addresses should be made to his Majesty, but that his person should be immediately demanded. The Scotish commissioners endeavoured to prevent the two houses from adopting any violent resolution; and when these houses determined that they had the right to dispose of the King without the concurrence of the Scotch, Loudon, the chancellor, remonstrated with great force of reasoning against the decision. It is unnecessary here to detail the various negotiations respecting the removal of the Scotish army from England, which the independents were eager to effect, and to which the Scotch themselves, in order to obtain the money due to Effects of this.

* Burnet's Memoirs p. 284—288, compared with Guthrie, p. 186. —188. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 221, 222. Rushworth, Vol. V. Part i. p. 327—329.

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1646. Dec.

them, were not averse. An arrangement upon this point was at length concluded. The parliament then resolved that his Majesty should be brought to Holmsby-house, and that when there, all proper means should be employed to induce him to consent to the propositions. *

Parliament in Scotland. 3d Nov.

In the beginning of November, the parliament of Scotland, which was to decide the fate of the monarch, assembled. The church immediately shewed the temper by which its leading members were guided. Complaints were presented against the committee of states for their agreement with

Nov.

Montrose and his followers, who had been excommunicated; they lamented his Majesty's obstinate adherence to episcopacy, and the danger to which religion was, by the malignants, (the epithet applied to his friends) exposed; and they recommended the preservation of religion, and of harmony with England. The agreement with Montrose was, notwithstanding this interference, sanctioned; but nothing more of importance was discussed till Argyll returned from London. †

15th Dec.

At length, however, a grand committee was appointed, and the first resolution adopted seemed to

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 283, and 293—309. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 189, 190. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 226, 227—234—236—239, 240, and 249. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 36, 37. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 322—327, and latter part of the 11th chapter. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 229, and 232.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 180 and 190. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 295.

indicate, that concern for the Sovereign was not extinguished; for it was determined to send instructions to the commissioners at London, to press his Majesty's coming to that city with honour, safety, and freedom, and to declare their attachment to a monarchical government. But this apparent loyalty was soon laid aside. The commission of the General Assembly, ever vigilant in the cause of presbytery, published a solemn warning to all ranks of persons, the object of which was, to prevent the King's being received in Scotland, and to induce the estates to insist upon his settling religion according to the covenant, as the only means of preserving himself, his crown, and his posterity. A fast was appointed, that the views of the preachers might be more effectually unfolded. The consequence was, that it was decided once more to demand that Charles would sign the propositions, and if he should refuse, the commissioners were enjoined to intimate to him, that he could not be permitted to come to Scotland; but that if he did come, it would be necessary to put guards around his person to secure his safety, and to prevent all tumult, and to continue the government without him, as had been done for some years before. *

1646.

17th Dec.

Dec.

The King, who had laboured to conciliate his

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 306, 307. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 192. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 390—392. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 253.

CHAP. XX. 1646.

Scotish subjects,—had imparted to them his final answer, in which he sought only the privilege of serving God as he believed to be right, and had made every sacrifice which did not involve his integrity,—was not to be shaken by the menacing language which was addressed to him. He probably saw that he had now no assistance to expect from his native kingdom; and he must have felt the most bitter anguish, that his consenting to the establishment of presbytery had failed to gain the support of men, who had often said, that, were this obtained, they would shed their blood in his defence.

When his answer was returned, all hesitation about delivering him to the English parliament was at an end. The Duke of Hamilton, aware of the consequences that would follow, silently voted against the ruin of his sovereign, but the Earl of Lanerick, with strong emotion, exclaimed, "as God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market-cross of Edinburgh, than consent to this vote." A declaration of what had been done was immediately sent to London. In it the members of the Scotish parliament stated, "that, as his Majesty had frequently expressed his desire to be near his two houses of parliament, as these houses had appointed him to reside in safety at Holmsby-house, and as he had not given a satisfactory answer to the propositions of peace, the estates of the kingdom of Scotland concurred in the King's Majesty going

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to Holmsby-house, to remain there till he gave satisfaction; and that, in the meantime, there should be no harm, injury, prejudice, or violence, done to his royal person; that there should be no change of government; and that his posterity should be noways prejudiced in their lawful succession to the crown and government of these kingdoms."

1647. Jan.

The King delivered by the Scotch.

Charles heard with firmness this resolution of the estates. He was not induced by it to alter his intentions, and the English commissioners having arrived at Newcastle to pay to the Scotish army the sums stipulated for their removing out of the kingdom, the unfortunate Monarch was delivered to them, and was immediately conducted to the place which had been destined for his imprisonment. *

28th Jan.

Reflections upon this.

There is no event in the history of Scotland which has been considered as more disgraceful than abandoning the monarch, whom they who did so had sworn to defend. It cannot be urged for them that they were ignorant of the consequences which would result from it; for the persons whom they had sent to London, early perceived that there was an intention to subvert the monarchy, and to doom Charles to imprisonment, or death; whilst the coincidence between the surrender and the receipt of the money, which they had long demanded, gives too much countenance to the opinion, that this mo-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 309—312. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 193—195. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 37, 38. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part i. p. 395—397.

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1647. Jan.

ney was the price for which the King was basely delivered. Yet it seems unquestionable, that the estates of Scotland were not guided by the mean and unworthy motive thus assigned for their conduct. The debt which was paid was justly due to them, and the mode of paying it had been long a matter of deliberation. What was voted to them was not more than sufficient to defray the expence of maintaining the army, and it would certainly have gone a very short way in gratifying men whom a bribe could corrupt. The fact seems to be, that the measure so much condemned, naturally resulted from the state of feeling and of opinion which had long prevailed in Scotland; it had been predicted before it happened; and, although it was in many respects unwise, it was perhaps the only measure which could have been safely adopted. The ministers had convinced the people, that, without the King's subscription to the covenant, there was no security for the ecclesiastical polity to which they were warmly attached, but that they would, in all probability, be subjected to an exasperated hierarchy; and they had thus excited a violence of zeal, which even they themselves, had they been inclined to do so, might have been unable to restrain. Had then the estates consented to the King's return, they would have been assailed by the clergy, and by the party headed by Argyll; they would have been branded as betraying the best interests of their country; and they might have been unable to protect the King

from the fury of the multitude. They would also have excited the indignation of the English parliament, and, by kindling the flames of war between the two kingdoms, have defeated the design of ecclesiastical uniformity, for which the solemn league and covenant had been framed. Had not the reception of the King thus been opposed by the most formidable difficulties, they could not have failed to be alarmed at the danger of resigning him; for they were not ignorant that the independents and the sectaries were rapidly gaining the direction of public measures, and that, by entrusting to them the person of the King, they removed the barrier which had most effectually prevented Cromwell and his friends from carrying into practice their antipathy to the presbyterian discipline. In one word, matters were in such a situation, that evils would have resulted from any resolution which could have been taken; and, although it would unquestionably have been more consistent with generous loyalty to welcome his Majesty to Scotland, it is very doubtful whether they would thus have improved his situation, or even prolonged his life. *

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 198, 200, 203, 206, 222, 227, 235, 236, 241, 243, and 246. I have quoted these passages, from which it is evident, that Baillie was aware of the designs of the independents against the King, of the increasing influence of the sectaries, and the difficulty which attended any decision of the Scotish estates. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 373. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 312. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 194, 195. He endeavours to save the honour of his country, by representing the resolution to de-

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1647. State of the Presbyterian Polity.

At this period, the greatest approach had been made to the establishment of the presbyterian discipline through the whole of Britain. In Scotland it existed in full energy. not only guiding the religious sentiments of the community, but overawing the legislature; in England, the Westminster Assembly had given to it its explicit sanction, and had composed a confession of faith to be the standard of religious belief in both kingdoms. That confession still forms the creed of the church of Scotland; and whether we advert to the accuracy with which it is expressed, or to the profound theological knowledge which it displays, it reflects the highest honour upon those with whom it originated. The English parliament had decided, that it ought to be ratified, and one great step to uniformity was thus successfully taken. Not only had the presbyterian polity been, by the same high authority, declared to be agreeable to the word of God, but presbyteries had been actually constituted in the province of London, and in Lancashire; and that no doubt might be entertained of the sentiments of the ministers who resided in the metropolis, they published a work, in which they maintained, that this form of ecclesiastical discipline was of divine institution. *

liver the King as that of a party, but there can be little doubt that the majority of the people approved of it. Laing's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 333. Collier, Vol. II. p. 848.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 295. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 192. Baif-

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1647. Power of the Independents.

This bright prospect however was soon overcast, and the hopes of the zealous adherents to the solemn league and covenant disappointed. One great motive for sending home the Scotish army was, to remove all pretence for maintaining the English forces, of which the parliament had long been jealous. These forces were, in a great proportion, composed of men inflamed by the most violent enthusiasm, who disregarded all forms of ecclesiastical polity, and considered the imaginary call of the spirit, which many of them believed had been addressed to themselves, as the only proper call to the pastoral office. Their leaders, whilst it suited their views, professed their readiness to concur in the establishment of presbytery, provided toleration was granted to tender consciences; but they were secretly desirous that the presbyterians should not attain their object. The two houses, upon the retiring of the covenanters' army, intimated their resolution to disband their own, with the exception of a small part destined for Ireland, and this intimation was the signal for executing the schemes which the independents had long agitated. The officers and soldiers resisted the ordinance of parliament, and, guided by Cromwell and his followers,

lie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 149, 161, 168.—Baillie, speaking of the confession, says, "we had long and tough debates about the decrees of election." p. 173, 201, 231, 237, 246, 250, 251. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 229, and 238.

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soon succeeded in overawing the legislature. By a bold attempt of Joice, an officer, they got possession of the King, and carried him from Holmby-house to Hampton Court. With dexterous policy they endeavoured to prevent his union with the presbyterians, by treating him with indulgence and respect, to which he had long been a stranger; they allowed him to have free intercourse with his friends, and to be attended by his chaplains; and they insinuated, that, in settling the nation, they would disregard the covenant, and not be averse even to the restoration of episcopacy. When, however, they had intimidated the parliament, which, through the whole of its conduct in this critical emergency, displayed a weakness, of which its able opponents artfully availed themselves, they threw aside the mask, and acted towards him with a harshness which he deeply felt, and which led him to take the resolution of making his escape. A scheme for this purpose was devised. He seems at one time to have hoped that he would get out of the kingdom; but when he found this impracticable, he went to the Isle of Wight, where he was as much under the constraint of those whom he dreaded, as he had been before. *

1647. They get the King into their possession, 3d or 4th of June.

11th Nov.

13th Nov.

* Whitelocke, in his Memorials, under the year 1647, gives much information respecting the conduct of the army, and the prevalence of the independent faction. Rapin, Vol. II. under the same year. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 314—318, and 324, 325. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 235—253, and 259. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part

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1647. Transactions in Scotland.

He had no sooner been delivered to the English commissioners, than the zealous covenanters in Scotland began to dread, that the sectaries would evince their antipathy to the presbyterian discipline; and they endeavoured to guard against this, by expressing their abhorrence of the tenets avowed by their adversaries,—by preaching against the prevalence of a sectarian spirit,—by lamenting the restraint which was put upon their sovereign,—and by sending commissioners to facilitate the settlement of the nation upon their own principles. The General Assembly addressed an exhortation to their brethren in England, in which they shewed their dread of the consequences which would result from the ascendancy of the army. They lamented the dangers into which 4th Aug. the common cause of religion was brought, by the growing and spreading of most grievous errors in England, to the obstructing and hindering of the reformation happily commenced, "such as, besides many others, Socinianism, Arminianism, anabaptism, Antinomianism, Brownism, Erastianism, independency, and that which was called by the abuse of the word, liberty of conscience, being indeed liberty of error, scandal, heresy and schism; and they deplored the existence of scepticism, opposing the fundamental tenets which even prelacy and popery had professed to revere." *

i. p. 42—72. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 199, and 206. Rushworth, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 874.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 319. Printed Acts of General Assembly, 1647, p. 4, 5. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 257.

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But whilst the ministers thus, consistently with their admiration of presbytery, opposed liberty of conscience, and the diversities of religious opinion which, in a remarkable degree, at this time prevailed in England, they never for a moment lost sight of the covenant; and so qualified their resentment of what had taken place against the scheme of uniformity, as to feel no inclination to support the King, if he did not subscribe what his conscience rejected.

His friends, eager to wipe away the stain which had been fixed on their country, by delivering him to men known to be hostile to him, and wishing to improve his situation, took advantage of the spirit which prevailed, and attempted to revive the loyalty of the people. The Duke of Hamilton strenuously exerted himself, and he succeeded in inclining the majority of the community to enter into his views. But the ministers, who had at first, from their dislike of toleration, expressed a desire to contribute to the deliverance of the King, now began to alter their language. They saw, that many who had always been friendly to his Majesty, and averse to the covenant, joined with Hamilton; and regarding malignants with still greater detestation than heretics, they announced the danger to be apprehended from this union. * They did not, how-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 319. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 266. Trail's MS. Diary.

ever, change the general sentiment; for the committee of estates, after much discussion, agreed to send the Chancellor and the Earl of Lanerick to the King and parliament, to encourage both to adhere to the covenant, and to unite with Lauderdale, who was much disgusted by having been refused access to Charles, in resisting the proposals which had been made by the army. Against this resolution, which the ministers considered as too favourable to the Monarch, the Marquis of Argyll and Warriston protested. * 1647.

In the month of October, the Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, having been admitted to the King, entered upon a negotiation for defeating the designs of those who were now avowedly hostile to monarchy. They represented to him, that the great part of his subjects in Scotland were most desirous that he should be restored to the exercise of sovereignty, and they implored him, for his own interest, to give to them that satisfaction with respect to religion, without which their cordial support could not be procured. The hopes which he had entertained of being reinstated by the army having now vanished, he listened to these suggestions, and some progress had been made towards an arrangement; but his flight from Hampton Court suspended the treaty. The message

Negotiation between the King and the Scotish commissioners. Oct.

* Baillie, Vol. II. p. 257, and 259, compared with Burnet's Memoirs, p. 301. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 202. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 213.

CHAP. XX. 1647. which he left to be communicated to parliament, in which he expressed his opinion in favour of episcopacy, and consented that presbytery should be established only for three years—those who could not in conscience submit to it being, during that time, permitted to adhere, without molestation, to their own profession,—filled the commissioners with despair, knowing the effect which it would produce upon their countrymen. They accordingly informed him, that he had infinitely disabled them from serving him, because what he offered, as to religion, came far short of what he had previously consented to sanction, and granted a full toleration of heresy and schism for ever. *

22d Nov.

They conclude an engagement with the King.

They soon, however, resumed their efforts to form an agreement. The English parliament had, without consulting them, passed four acts, as preliminary propositions to be admitted by his Majesty before any other points were discussed. These acts were entirely of a civil nature, and left to Charles hardly the shadow of royalty. The Scotish commissioners loudly complained of the contempt with which they had been treated, reprobated the acts as totally destructive of the rights of the crown, and with peculiar vehemence inveighed against the omission to enforce the covenant, and to establish the uniformity which the two houses had been pledged to promote. Not satisfied with addressing

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 323—326.

their sentiments to the parliament, and firmly maintaining these sentiments, they determined to follow the parliamentary commissioners to the Isle of Wight, and previously assured his Majesty, that they would insist upon what they had proposed at Hampton Court, cautioning him, at the same time, against assenting to the bills which were to be laid before him, because he would thus reduce himself, and his people, to the slavery in which the army was desirous to involve the kingdom. * CHAP. XX. 1647. Nov. 25th Nov.

When they came to the King, they formally protested against the four acts. His Majesty, now fully aware that, if he lost the present opportunity of uniting with the Scotch and English presbyterians, it would never be regained, and softened by the slightest appearance of zeal for his privileges, which had of late, by all parties, been trampled under foot, immediately and heartily entered upon a treaty, which was concluded and signed on the following day, and which was afterwards known in Scotland by the appellation of the engagement. † 25th Dec.

His Majesty in this treaty, bound himself to confirm by act of parliament the league and covenant,— to establish the presbyterian polity, the directory Particulars of the engagement relating to religion.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 327. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 938. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 283, 284. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 542. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 207, 208.

† Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. Part i. p. 88 and 101, 102. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 285. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 209. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 334. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 280.

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for worship, and the Westminster Assembly, or its decrees, for three years,—and to take the most effectual course for suppressing the opinions and practices of anti-trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, anti-scripturalists, anabaptists, and a long list of other sects, evincing the unsettled state of mens' minds, and shewing the consequences which naturally result from the want of an established system of instruction, for fixing attention upon those great doctrines and principles of religion which purify the heart, rectify the moral conduct, and impart the most elevated happiness.

When the commissioners had extorted or obtained these concessions, influenced by pity for their sovereign, or convinced that his claims were just, they consented that the covenant should not be imposed on such as, upon conscience, objected to it; and that Charles himself should be at liberty to worship God in the way which he conceived to be most conformable to the sacred scriptures. On their parts, they stipulated, that, as he had expressed his willingness to give satisfaction as to religion, and all other matters which had been in dispute between him and his subjects, they would endeavour that he should come in freedom and honour to London, to commence a personal treaty with his parliament and the Scotish commissioners, upon such propositions as might be suggested by all who were interested, and that, for this purpose, the armies should be disbanded. If they failed to obtain these objects, then

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they agreed that a declaration should be issued by the kingdom of Scotland, condemning the conduct of the two houses of parliament, and asserting his Majesty's right to certain civil privileges which the Scotch were desirous should still belong to their Sovereign. * 1647. 26th Dec.

The treaty being concluded, the commissioners took their leave of the King, that they might return to Scotland; and his Majesty, having refused his assent to the four bills, was closely confined, while all further negotiation with him, in his official capacity, was, under pain of treason, prohibited by parliament. †

The engagement violently opposed by the Ministers.

Intelligence of the engagement was immediately sent to Scotland, and it soon became apparent, that it would be opposed by a numerous and powerful party in that kingdom. When, upon the arrival of the commissioners, the ministers found, that although the king consented to ratify the covenant, he was neither to take it himself, nor to force others to subscribe it, they were in the highest degree dissatisfied. Having called a meeting of the commission, which had been invested with the full powers of the General Assembly, they resolved to declare

Their influence. 12th Mar.

* For a very ample account of the treaty, see Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 103—108, and Rapin, Vol. II. p. 543—545, where several valuable remarks upon different parts of it are made by that historian. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 334. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 209.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 334. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 286.

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1648.

21st Mar.

that his Majesty's concessions were not sufficient, and were destructive of the covenant; while they determined upon insisting, that all malignants who had not subscribed the covenant, should be regarded as enemies of their country, no less than the sectaries who contended for toleration. The estates having been informed of this violent measure, ordered the commission not to print, or circulate their declaration; but, with that contempt for the civil power which had for ages marked the church of Rome, and which protestant churches had not totally relinquished, they not only printed the obnoxious paper, but enjoined all ministers to read it from their pulpits. *

24th Mar.

Indignant as Hamilton, and those who concurred with him, must have felt at this opposition, they could not censure or punish those with whom it originated; and it was resolved to appoint a committee of parliament, which received the name of the committee of danger, for managing the important business connected with the engagement, and for attempting to conciliate the clergy. Much communication took place between a part of this committee and the commission. The ministers, led by Gillespie, who shewed the most inveterate enmity

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 336—338. Burnet says that the printing of the remonstrance, which I conceive to be the same with the declaration, was with difficulty prevented. It was not prevented, as is expressly mentioned by Baillie, Vol. II. p. 283, 284, and Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 214. Whitelocke, p. 295.

to Charles, required that all classes should take an oath for preserving the ends of the covenant. This oath, which was zealously defended by Argyll, comprehended the following particulars, sufficiently shewing the virulence of party spirit which prevailed: That, except the King did first subscribe and swear to both covenants, it was not lawful for any to endeavour his restitution,—that there should be no communication with malignants in any of the three kingdoms,—that a negative voice should not be given to the King;—that these articles should be incorporated with the coronation oath,—and that all who refused to swear to them should be incapable of any office, civil or ecclesiastical, and should forfeit their estates. Against this, the parliamentary commissioners firmly remonstrated, and an attempt was made, by the more moderate ministers, to soften some of the articles, combining them with parts of a declaration which the committee had prepared; but all prospect of union was destroyed, by the determination of the church party to oppose a resolution by the estates for taking possession of Berwick and Carlisle, with a view to facilitate future warlike operations. * 1648. March.

This determination was adopted at the suggestion of Argyll, who had, in parliament, resisted the seizure of these towns, and of some commis-

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 215 and 217, compared with Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 285. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 339.

CHAP. XX. 1648.

sioners from the English parliament, who had been sent to justify its proceedings, and to preserve correspondence with Scotland. It was believed that, with these commissioners, several of the ministers cordially acted.*

Efforts of the King's friends.

Still, however, the King's friends laboured to secure the sanction of the church, sensible that, without this, they had much reason to dread popular tumult, and disheartened by the conduct of Loudon the chancellor, who, although he had promoted, and, upon his arrival in Scotland, had supported the engagement, was induced, by domestic influence, and by his connection with the violent covenanters, to act with dishonourable inconsistency, and throw obstacles in the way of the measures which he had recommended. † A proposal was made to the ministers to depart from what had offended them, but this only increased their obstinacy, and the most alarming consequences threatened to result from it. ‡

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 338.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 338, and 343, and History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 59. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 286. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 213.

‡ Baillie, Vol. II. p. 286. Upon the obstinacy of his brethren, Baillie, who was warmly attached to their cause, makes the following candid observations: "The danger of this rigidity is like to be fatal to the King, to the whole isle, both churches and states. We mourn for it to God. Though it proceed from two or three men at most, yet it seems to be remediless. If we be kept from a present civil war, it is God, and not the wisdom of our most wise and best men, which will save us. I am more and more in the mind that it were for the good of the world that churchmen did meddle with ecclesiastical af-

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1648. 22d Mar.

At length, the commission presented to the committee of estates, eight articles, comprehending all which the church deemed it requisite to secure before acceding to the engagement. They demanded, that, before they proceeded to a war, the grounds and causes of it should be distinctly ascertained; that the alleged breaches of the covenant, and the treaties with which the English parliament was charged, should be enumerated, and reparation for them required, that there might be no such grounds of war as would break the union of the two kingdoms, and disoblige the presbyterians of England; that none of the malignant or disaffected party should be admitted to trust; but, on the contrary, that they should be opposed and suppressed; that the King's late concessions might be declared to be unsatisfactory; that his Majesty should not be restored to the exercise of his royal power, till he should, by oath, bind himself and his successors to consent to acts of parliament for confirming the league and covenant, and settling presbytery, the directory, and the confession of faith; that none might be trusted but such as were of known integrity, and good affection to the cause; and that the church might have the same interest in carrying on this engagement which it had in the solemn league and covenant. *

fairs only, that were they ever so able otherwise, they are unhappy statesmen."

* Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 1047,

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The patience of many of the King's friends was exhausted by the intemperance of these demands, and they pressed the necessity of apprehending and punishing the most violent of the ministers; but Hamilton shrunk from such vigorous proceedings, and, with his usual timid policy, laboured to gain his object without the risk of commotion. He prevailed upon the estates to enjoin their former committee, increased by some new members, to correspond with the commission, and, if possible, to soothe its turbulent leaders. Some attempts were accordingly made to spare the malignants, and not to shackle the King's conscience; but there was not resolution to assert the superiority of parliament to the ecclesiastical authority; and the committee, in the end, reluctantly agreed, not only to concede all which was required, but to publish a declaration conformable to the wishes of the church. It might have been foreseen, that this was not the way to secure unanimity. The clergy, elated by their victory, and convinced, that, if they improved it, they would gain the complete direction of the nation, professed, with unpardonable disingenuity, still to be dissatisfied; objected, in the most vexatious manner, to expressions which they must have known to be unexceptionable; and, when every thing was granted to them, openly avowed, that the intentions of the

1048. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 339. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 287. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 549, has inserted the demands of the commission, the answer of the committee to parliament, and the reply of the ministers.

King's friends were at variance with their professions; and that it was impossible to place the slightest reliance, even upon their most ample and unambiguous declarations. CHAP. XX. 1648.

But although, from their anxiety to make an unanimous exertion in favour of the King, Hamilton, and the majority of the estates, thus patiently attempted to conciliate Argyll and the clergy, when they found their efforts unavailing, they resolved not to abandon their Sovereign; and accordingly, having explained to him what induced them to make concessions, and expressed their disappointment that these had been fruitless, they assured him that they were so sensible of their duty, of their honour, and of his own sad condition that they would either procure, what they called the undertaking of Scotland for his Majesty, or perish in the attempt. In conformity to this pledge, they specified the grounds upon which they were dissatisfied with the English parliament; and agreed to send a messenger to demand, that the King might come to some of his palaces in London, or the neighbourhood, with safety, freedom, and honour; that the sectarian army should be disbanded; that religion should be established according to the covenant and treaties; that no toleration should be given to anabaptists, independents, and separatists; and that all members ab- Firmness of the Scotish Parliament. 22d Mar.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 339—341. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 287, 288, and 290. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 217, 218.

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sent from parliament, should be ordered to return to the discharge of their duty.* The messenger was instructed to return, if an answer was not given to him, within fifteen days after his arrival. Having thus opened a communication with England, they prepared a declaration, to be circulated amongst the people, expressing their conformity with the wishes of the ministers; and they then voted that the nation should be put in a posture of defence. Against all these resolutions, Argyll protested; thus plainly shewing, that, far from being desirous to save his country, and to prevent the calamities with which it was threatened, he was determined to resist every scheme for conciliation, and even to dissent from his own plans the moment that these were sanctioned by the party which he opposed. He was encouraged or confirmed in this course of conduct, by the perseverance of the church in similar policy. Not only were the estates assailed by the repeated remonstrances of the commission, but petitions were brought from different synods, requiring that no important measures should be adopted, without the concurrence of the General Assembly. At length it was decided to raise an army; and the Leslies, who had joined the church-party, having refused to take the command of it, that command

20th Apr.

25th Apr.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 342, and Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 218, compared with Rushworth, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 1100; and Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 303, 304.

was given to the Duke of Hamilton; and officers were appointed to serve under him, who were warmly attached to the King. The estates then adjourned for a few weeks, that the members might muster the levies which had been ordered. Here, however, the commission again interfered. They wrote an answer to the declaration of parliament, and circulated it amongst the presbyteries; they commanded the ministers, upon pain of deposition, not to read the declaration from their pulpits; they appointed a solemn fast; and they threatened with excommunication, or even with exclusion from the divine favour, all who enrolled under the royal banners.* CHAP. XX. 1648. 11th May

When the parliament again assembled, the commission presented new remonstrances, supported by many of the ministers, and a number of gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom. As the estates, disgusted with such audacity, ceased to conciliate men so decidedly hostile, the clergy were ordered, by this ecclesiastical judicatory, to preach against the engagement, as betraying religion; and all who refused to comply were threatened with deposition. These violent acts shocked several of those who had before supported the presbyterian faction; and many 1st June.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 341, 343, 347, 348. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 290—292. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 221—223. Trail's MS. Diary. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 305, 307. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part. ii. p. 1114,—1115—1122, 1123, and 1132.

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of the clergy lamented and condemned the arrogancy of their brethren. It was hoped by all moderate men, that the General Assembly, which was soon to meet, would adopt a more temperate course.

11th May. To secure this, the estates distributed amongst the presbyterians a letter, in which the interference of the church, in civil matters, was shewn to be inconsistent with the principles of the established ecclesiastical discipline; and the ministers were admonished not to oppose the proceedings of parliament. *

General Assembly. 12th July.

This letter failed in its effect. Gillespie, one of the most violent of the ministers, who, notwithstanding his zeal for the covenant, was suspected of corresponding with the sectaries, was chosen moderator; and he influenced or directed the measures which were sanctioned. The great object of the parliament was to prevent the Assembly from ratifying the acts of the commission; but, notwithstanding every exertion, its conduct was approved, and the judgment respecting the unlawfulness of the engagement was confirmed. In total defiance of the civil power, the Assembly published a declaration against an act of parliament, and of the committee of estates; and the nature of this declaration will be seen from the following passage, selected from others equally explicit:—"We do also exhort and charge,

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 342 and 348, 349. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 225, 226. Baillie's Letters and Journals, p. 282.

in Christ's name, the Prince of pastors, all the ministers within this church, that in no way they be accessory to this sinful engagement; but in all their conferences and reasonings, especially in their public discourses, they declare themselves, freely and faithfully, as they would eschew the wrath of God due for a violated covenant, and as they would escape the censures of the church." To a paper sent from the committee of estates, with a view to restrain their vehemence, the members, without hesitation, returned an answer, in which they attempted to prove, from Scripture, the unlawfulness of the engagement. Some acts, relating to religion, were passed, particularly one approving of the larger catechism; but their minds were almost completely engrossed with political contentions; and they even commanded the ministers to insist chiefly upon these in their discourses to the people; thus excluding, from the sanctuary of God, the humane maxims of the religion of peace, to make room for what exasperated passion, and suspended or destroyed the most amiable feelings and affections of human nature. Even in the addresses to the Supreme Being, with which the moderator concluded the different meetings, he could not refrain from expressing sentiments which then should have been banished from his mind; and they who listened to him, seem to have been gratified with what they considered as the fervour of patriotic devotion. *

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1648. Blllie, Vol. II. p. 299—311.

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1648. July. Remarks upon the state of the kingdom.

It is impossible to read the account which has been given, without deploring the situation to which Scotland was reduced. Turbulence and anarchy embittered domestic comfort, and suspended the protection which steady government alone can afford; factions, exasperated against each other, threatened the kingdom with the horrors of civil war; and religion was perverted to aggravate the evils which it should have alleviated or removed. Amidst professions of zeal for liberty, we trace the unceasing operation of the most shocking intolerance; all respect for the principles of men was lost in the zeal for uniformity; the ministers who should have laboured to strengthen integrity, were inculcating the necessity of taking oaths from which conscience revolted, and were branding toleration as the most detestable heresy. The state of the church also shews the inconsistency of human conduct, and the wonderful facility with which we can, in our own case, consider as a duty, what, in the case of others,

Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 231—233. Trail's MS. Diary. He says, "The moderator often, at the close of their meetings, prayed with much zeal and confidence, that the Lord would declare against the engagers and their course, saying, it was like to prove very prejudicial to religion." Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 57, 58. Burnet says somewhere, that Gillespie was suspected of corresponding with the sectaries, and that the suspicion was confirmed by some MSS. which he had seen; but I unluckily did not mark the passage, and I cannot at present find it. Allusion to the charge, however, is made by Baillie, Vol. II. p. 269 and 312; Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 212; and Burnet's Memoirs, p. 338.

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we had reprobated and opposed. Many of the clergy, who now guided the counsels of their brethren, had exhausted their eloquence in representing interference with the civil power as a proof of the corruption of episcopacy, and had insisted upon the exclusion of churchmen from all offices connected with political avocations, as essential to the existence of an efficient ministry, and to the dissemination of religious knowledge. Yet these men, who were so shocked that bishops, by having a seat in parliament, could calmly and constitutionally guard the rights of the church, and moderate the ardour of lay ambition, had no hesitation, virtually, to assume the reins of government,—to set the legislature at defiance,—and to dictate to the people the manner in which, as members of the commonwealth, they ought to act. It is by attending to facts of this kind, that we derive the practical knowledge of human nature, and human action, which it is one of the great uses of history to impart,—which may be of much importance to the political philosopher,—and may guard against speculative errors, which have sometimes led to the dissolution of government, or to changes terminating in the most vexatious or melancholy disappointment.

Defeat of Hamilton at Preston.

It was the firm belief of the zealous clergy, that the Lord had heard their prayers against the engagement; and it might have been apparent to any man of calm discernment, that little was to be expected from the manner in which everything con-

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nected with it had been conducted. * When, notwithstanding the opposition of the church, and the superstitious terrors which the threatenings of the ministers had excited, an army was at length collected, it had been matter of serious discussion, whether it should immediately march to England, or previously reduce the faction by which it was opposed. Lanerick wisely and earnestly pressed, that all should be rendered secure at home, representing that, if this were neglected, Argyll, supported by the clergy, would soon gain the command of Scotland, and thus, in a great degree, defeat the consequences even of the most brilliant success. Lauderdale, however, as earnestly recommended, that they should, without loss of time, enter England, and join the discontented of that kingdom, who, in various places, were breaking out in revolt. The indecisive mind of Hamilton was ill fitted for such times as those in which it was his misfortune to be cast; he was convinced, that his

9th July.

brother's advice was good, but he yielded to the opposite counsel, and, a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly, he entered England. Every step which he took evinced his incapacity as a General. Unable to decide for himself, he surrendered his own sentiments, and feebly executed the schemes, which, though he did not approve them, he could not reject. Instead of pressing for-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 358.

tablishment of their influence; and their adherents stimulated, and in many cases led, by the ministers, assembled, and furiously marched towards Edinburgh. The committee of estates might easily have dispersed a lawless and unarmed multitude; but, either from the dread of injuring their own interest, from belief that the cause was hopeless, or from alarm at the denunciations of excommunication which the clergy thundered from their pulpits, they shewed an inclination to treat rather than to resist. It is unnecessary to give a detail of all the steps which were taken. Argyll and the chancellor succeeded in gaining the ascendancy; they welcomed Cromwell to Scotland, and it was at length agreed that the forces of both parties should be disbanded,—that Berwick and Carlisle should be delivered to Cromwell,—and that the affairs of the kingdom should be settled by a parliament to be assembled, from which all who had consented to the engagement were to be excluded, as being the enemies of both kingdoms. *

1648.

Treaty with the church-faction.

We cannot reflect upon this treaty, formed according to the wishes of the ministers and their party, without being astonished at the pliability of conscience which they displayed. One part of the solemn league and covenant related to the preserva-

Remarks upon the treaty.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58, and Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton, p. 367—375. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 237—247. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 343. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V, Part ii. p. 1284. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 226.

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tion of the King; but although he was in confinement, and although they could not be ignorant that his life was in danger, and in danger from the very persons with whom they had united, not only was there no attempt made to ensure his safety, but they did not allude, in the most distant manner, to his condition. *

Violence of the enemies to the engagement.

The church used unmercifully the victory which it had gained. All the ministers who had been friendly to the engagement, or who had not violently exclaimed against it, now felt the weight of ecclesiastical vengeance; many of them, without respect to their piety, or virtue, or learning, were deposed, and subjected to all the misery of poverty; whilst those of the people who had adhered to their sovereign, were, before they could obtain any place of trust, compelled to submit to the censures which should have been pronounced only upon the vicious or the profane. †

The party of Argyll having got possession of the reins of government, began to act as a committee of the estates, sent commissioners to London to explain their conduct to the two houses, and ordered a parliament to be summoned for the ensuing January. ‡ But the attention of the nation was soon directed

1649. to the bold proceedings of the English army, de-

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 352, 353.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 58, 59. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 250. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 353.

‡ Burnet's Memoirs, p. 375—377. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 248, and 251.

ward to join those by whom he would have been assisted, he lingered in the most discouraging inactivity; there was no union in his army; and, although he was anxious to profit by the services of some troops from Ireland, under the command of Monro, he was induced to separate this gallant officer, with his detachment, from the rest of the forces. Cromwell hastened to engage his irresolute enemy. Having joined Lambert, and reconnoitered the Scotish army, he made a vigorous attack, and gained at Preston a decided victory. In a few days the Duke of Hamilton was taken prisoner, his soldiers were slain or dispersed, and Monro, who had not been in the action, retreated towards Scotland. * CHAP. XX. 1648. July. 17th, 18th, 19th Aug.

The effects of this defeat were very important. The English parliament, although it had been overawed by the army, was attached to the presbyterian polity, and was desirous, if that polity could be secured, to restore the King to the exercise of a limited authority. Accordingly, Cromwell had no sooner found it necessary to remove from the metropolis, than the wishes of the two houses became apparent; they passed various resolutions decidedly favourable to the presbyterians, and they determined to treat anew with his Majesty. The treaty in Effects of that defeat.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 335—364. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 235, 236. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 160—163. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 1237, 1238. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 331. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 317. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 223—225. Trail's MS. Diary.

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consequence commenced; and had Charles at once accepted the terms which were offered, they would have declared for him; but, with his usual procrastination, and from the idea that a union with him was now necessary to either of the factions, he delayed his concessions till Cromwell had subdued all opposition. Upon his approach to London, he expressed his dissatisfaction with the conduct of parliament,—he gave orders that the King should be secured,—and when the houses voted that the concessions of their sovereign were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom, he commanded the members who had supported this declaration to be removed, and plainly evinced, that he would force submission to his will. *

1648. Aug.

Dec.

In Scotland, the forces under Hamilton had no sooner left the kingdom, than Argyll and the church-party renewed their efforts to excite abhorrence at the engagement. The defeat at Preston, which destroyed the hope of the exclusive establishment of presbytery in England, and which, upon every account, should have filled patriotic Scotchmen with regret, was heard by the violent faction with undissembled joy; they believed that the time was arrived for overcoming all opposition to the full es-

* Whitelocke's Memorials under the latter part of 1648, and particularly p. 359. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 338, 339. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 251, 252. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 228—235. Ludlow, the zealous advocate of liberty, expresses the highest satisfaction at this act of tyranny.

lenced or expelled from parliament the upright men by whom it had been asserted. * CHAP. XX.

The intelligence of his execution was rapidly conveyed through the nation, and was heard by all who were not immediately engaged in the political struggles of these unhappy times with the deepest emotions of grief and of indignation. Far from producing hatred to royalty, or aversion to a new sovereign, it obliterated the impressions against Charles, which had long existed, and surrounded his memory with a veneration, which the brilliant political career of the Usurper, and the wisdom of his government, were unable to remove. From the constitution of our nature, there is something peculiarly affecting in the sufferings of men who have filled the most exalted stations in society; and the force of this principle was, in the case of the King, much strengthened by his dignified and moving deportment when he came to the scaffold. With unshaken fortitude, and with the tranquillity of a mind at peace with itself, he contemplated the preparations for his execution; he calmly addressed those who surrounded him, forgave his enemies, and exhorted them to acknowledge his son, declaring his confidence, that he himself was about to as- 1649. Jan. Consequence of his death.

* For the character of the King, consult Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 259. Sanderson's reign of Charles I. p. 1139, 1140. Life of Charles prefixed to his works, p. 96—116. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 64. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 570, 571; and Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 499—501.

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cend to a happier state of being. When, according to the usual practice, his head was held up to the multitude, and the executioner cried, "This is the head of a traitor," a groan of anguish and of horror ascended from the agitated spectators. The account of these affecting circumstances produced everywhere sentiments similar to those with which we mourn over the death of a parent or a benefactor. The publication of the Icon Basilike, a work ascribed to the King, kept alive the emotions which else might have speedily been forgotten. This work contains reflections upon the varied incidents of his melancholy life, and exhibits a strength of mind, a justness of thought, and a pious resignation to the most afflicting vicissitudes, which at all times would have excited admiration, but which exalted the monarch to a level with the best and the most illustrious of men. Numerous editions were eagerly sought, and rapidly purchased, and the insinuation that it was not the production of the sovereign, which is now indisputably confirmed, was either disregarded, or considered as originating from disrespect to his memory, which the great part of the community detested as a crime. May such an event as was then deplored never again tarnish the history of Britain,—but may the continuance of that admirable constitution, which identifies the prerogative of the King with the happiness and the freedom of his people, render loyalty the best security for liberty, without which, all that

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voted to its able and ambitious General. In a remonstrance, they demanded that the King should be brought to trial, and it soon became evident, that it had been determined to put him to death. The presbyterians were shocked at this intention; they pleaded against it; and the Scotish estates unequivocally declared, that they thought of it with abhorrence. * Even the ministers who had thwarted every measure for his preservation, at length raised their voices against his destruction, and reprobated the army, the leader of which they had so lately received as the deliverer of their country. † All efforts to save the Monarch were now however too late. A court having been constituted for his trial, he was arraigned. He conducted himself before his judges with a dignity suitable to his exalted rank, presenting, in his patient and magnanimous demeanour, an affecting contrast to the brutality of those at whose bar he was placed. The sentence of condemnation having been pronounced, he prepared for that awful death which was to terminate his sufferings, and, on the day appointed, he was publicly executed. ‡

1649.

22d Jan.

The King condemned and executed.

27th Jan.

30th Jan.

* Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 215, 216. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 260, 281. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 1399. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 367, and 369. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 236. Burnet's Hist. Vol. I. p. 68.

† Rushworth's Collection, Vol. V. Part ii. p. 1428. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 314. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 377.

‡ Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 259. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 379. Rapin's history, Vol. II. p. 570.

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1649. Jan.

His character.

Powerfully as the political and religious principles of the different writers, who have delineated the character of Charles, have influenced the representation which they have transmitted, all have borne testimony to the virtues of his private life. He was pious, humane, temperate, and affectionate; and although his manners were stern and reserved, he was long revered and beloved by his subjects. Educated, however, in the arbitrary principles of his father, he beheld with abhorrence every attempt to limit his prerogative, or to assert the liberties of his people; and he was, from this cause, led to adopt policy which alarmed the fears of the nation, and at length excited the most determined spirit of resistance. Attached to Scotland, the place of his nativity, he exercised against its inhabitants the severity of oppression, and his inflexible veneration for episcopacy, prevented him from giving that indulgence to their religious sentiments which would have gained their hearts, and rendered it the highest gratification to support his throne. Yet, with all his errors as a monarch, it is difficult not to commiserate his fate. It must in candour be admitted, that suspicion of his sincerity made his people distrustful when they might have confided in him,—that, in their eagerness to restrain his power, they violated the duty which they owed to him,—and that he at length was sacrificed, not that the glorious cause of freedom might be strengthened, but to establish a faction which had trampled upon liberty, and si-

is great and noble in man, must soon be for ever extinguished. *

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 69, 70. The Icon Basilike is published in the collection of the works of Charles, by Royston; and a defence of its authenticity, remarkable for the manner in which it speaks of Milton, is contained in the life of the King, p. 94. prefixed to that collection. That the book, however, was the production of Dr Gauden, is placed almost beyond a doubt, by a paper entitled "A manifest proof that Dr Gauden (not Charles the First) was the author of Icon Basilike." This paper is subjoined to General Ludlow's pamphlet, "Truth brought to light;" and it is unnecessary to multiply references upon the subject. The reader may consult note 14th to the first volume of Laing's History of Scotland, for ample information. For the effect produced by this supposed work of the King, see Baillie, Vol. II. p. 332.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIRST.

Charles the Second proclaimed in Scotland....He is informed of his accession....His determination....Violence of party-zeal in Scotland....Attempts of the Royalists in that kingdom.....General Assembly.....New embassy to the King....Remarks upon the conditions proposed to him....Expedition of Montrose....He is defeated, condemned, and executed....Effect of his death....Proposal to break off the treaty with the King.....He arrives in Scotland....His reception.....Cromwell marches to Scotland....The King's declaration.....Battle of Dunbar..... Cromwell's correspondence with the Ministers of Edinburgh.....Consequences of his success.....Account of the party hostile to the King....He escapes from the superintendence of Argyll....Rise of Divisions in the Church ....Coronation....The army commanded by the King and Officers attached to him.....He marches to England..... Battle of Worcester.....Reduction of the whole of Scotland.....Dissensions in the Church continued.....Its conduct towards the King....Steps leading to the restoration....The King is restored.

CHAP. XXI.

1649. 5th Feb. Charles the Second, proclaimed in Scotland.

AFTER the execution of the King, the public attention in Scotland was directed to the accession of his son. The solemn league and covenant expressly recognized a monarchical government, and, in the various representations which the estates had made to

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the English parliament, they had professed their attachment to the reigning family, and their anxiety that the crown should descend to the heirs of the Sovereign. All parties, therefore, united in calling upon the Prince to ascend the throne, but there was much diversity of opinion respecting the terms which should be prescribed. There were many so thoroughly devoted to him, that they would have gladly received him without any stipulations, whilst some of the most violent of the clergy were eager to impose such restrictions, as, they trusted, would lead him to spurn a nominal sceptre. Argyll and the church-party, steered between these extremes. They were desirous that the crown should be placed on his head, but, they wisely conceived it necessary, that there should be a compact between him and his people. It was accordingly determined to proclaim Charles with the usual forms, but the proclamation declared that, before he was admitted to the exercise of the royal authority, he should give satisfaction to the kingdom, in those things that concerned religion. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the Hague, to convey to him the information of his accession; and a deputation from the estates, and from the church, soon followed, to lay before him the demands upon which it had been resolved to insist. *

Feb.

He is informed of his accession.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 314, 315, and 353. Printed Acts of Assembly, 1649. p. 19. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i.

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1649. His determination. 29th Mar.

Upon their arrival in Holland, the commissioners waited on the Prince, and communicated to him their instructions. He politely received them, but he felt little desire to accept the crown upon conditions, from which, for many reasons, he was averse. That high idea of prerogative, which had ruined his father, he was not disposed to modify or to reject; the manners of his Scotish subjects did not correspond with the levity and the dissoluteness of his own character, whilst the vigour of presbyterian principles ill agreed with his carelessness about religion, or with that partiality to the popish faith which his reverence for his mother had led him to entertain. He assembled, however, the noblemen who composed his council, having added to them the Earls of Lanerick and Lauderdale, who had, about this period, joined his court, and the Marquis of Montrose, who had recently come from France to offer his services. Some of those whom he thus consulted, earnestly advised him to reject the offer which had been made to him, and either to sail to Ireland, where there was some prospect of the triumph of his adherents, or to get possession of Scotland by force; whilst Lanerick and Lauderdale, although they had every reason to be dissatisfied with the prevailing faction, by which they had been banished from their country, had the magnanimity, or the

p. 277, and 284. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 381, 383, and 385. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 70, 71.

prudence to recommend, that he should accept the proposed terms, as affording the only chance of his succeeding to the throne of his ancestors. Charles, however, determined to go to Ireland, and to take measures for the conquest of Scotland; he gave a commission to Montrose, who was sanguine in anticipating success; and the deputation returned from the Hague, without being able to give any satisfactory intelligence about the designs of the Prince. * 1649.

Violence of party-zeal in Scotland.

The resolution of the King, not to commit himself to his Scotish subjects, was probably strengthened by reflecting upon the violence of party-zeal which had been displayed both by the estates and the church. The covenanters had early branded as malignants the friends of the monarch. After the dissolution of the engagement by the unfortunate issue of the battle at Preston, the nobility and ministers, who had uniformly opposed it, obtained the direction of affairs; and extending the obnoxious term to all who had favoured the expedition to England, they proceeded against them with as much severity, as if they had never subscribed the covenant, or had been avowedly hostile to the religious polity which had been established. The parliament, in conjunction with the commission

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 317, 332, 334 and 345. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 277, 278, and 299. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 422, and Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 71. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 577, 578. MS. Life of John Livingston, p. 24. I do not know whether this life has been printed.

CHAR. XXI. 1649.

of the Assembly, distributed them into various classes, by an act, which, from this circumstance, was called the act of classes, and which had for its object to exclude them, for certain periods, from all offices of trust, whilst it subjected them to ecclesiastical censure. This ungenerous and unwise conduct, excited abroad much abhorrence of the spirit by which it was dictated; it was justly observed, that it was impossible to know the limits which would be set to malignancy; and it was believed that any attempt to support the King would be hopeless, when his best friends were persecuted and held forth to detestation. Moderate men accordingly advised, that everything connected with the engagement should be buried in oblivion, and that all who wished to settle the nation, in conformity to the covenant, should unite in putting the King upon the throne. *

Even under his own eye, Charles saw how inveterate were the political antipathies which had been recently created. Lauderdale, and Lanerick, now in consequence of his brother's death Duke of Hamilton, would not associate with the Marquis of Montrose. When he came into the room, they instantly, although the King was present, retired; and they even petitioned the Prince, that Montrose should not have access to him, because he had been

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 316—324. The whole letter is very interesting. See also p. 325, and 327. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 253.

excommunicated by the church, and degraded and forfeited by the parliament. In this they concurred with the commissioners from Scotland, who, before entering on business, presented a request, that James Grahame, as they styled him, should be banished from court; and they complained because his Majesty did not withdraw his countenance from this loyal servant. * CHAP. XXI. 1649.

Whilst the estates and the commission were anxiously expecting an answer from Charles, some of his zealous, but imprudent adherents, took arms, assembled in the North, and seized the town of Inverness. The estates had received intimation of the design; they immediately sent troops against the insurgents, and having quelled them, resumed their deliberations. † Attempts of the Royalists in Scotland. March.

The General Assembly met in July. The proceedings of the commissioners at the Hague were justly approved, but considerable irritation was excited, from no answer having been made by the King; a neglect which was attributed to the evil counsels of the malignants by whom he was surrounded. The consequence was, that the representations in favour of the engagers were too much neglected; and an act was passed, ordaining that General Assembly. 7th July.

* Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 287, and 289. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 331, 332.

† Clarendon's History, Vol. III. Part i. p. 284. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 388. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 336. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 578.

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none should be admitted to the privileges of the church, and of course to any share in the administration of government, till they had publicly confessed their sins, and subscribed a declaration that they heartily detested the part which they had acted. All whose honourable feelings shrunk from such disingenuity were to be excommunicated; and the adherents of Montrose, who were viewed with peculiar antipathy, were forbidden to be received into the communion of the church, without an express order from the General Assembly. This act destroyed the hope of that cordial union in favour of Charles, which, even upon the principles of the covenant, was most desirable; and the road to conquest was virtually opened to those sectaries whom the framers of the act were at this time reprobating, as having violated the most sacred engagements. It was upon these grounds lamented, by some of the moderate clergy, who, though decided in favour of presbytery, were loyal to their Sovereign. *

A seasonable and necessary warning, concerning present and imminent dangers, and the duties connected with the state of the kingdom, was addressed by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory to all ranks; in which the members avowed their loyalty, lamented the events which had taken place in England, declared their enmity to the malignants, and

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1649. p. 2—5. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 339.

bewailed that, through their influence, the King had hitherto been prevented from granting the just desires of the church and kingdom, for securing religion and the liberties of the people. They professed it to be their duty, to use every effort for extricating him from the snare of evil counsel; and they stated their determination, probably in allusion to rumours as to the intentions of Montrose, to resist and oppose his Majesty, or any having, or pretending to have, commission from him, should they invade the kingdom, under pretext of establishing him in the exercise of the royal power. This paper, however, is particularly interesting, from some of the general political maxims which it inculcates; maxims which should be viewed separately from the designs then in agitation, and tried by their conformity to the most enlightened notions of government. The members of Assembly desired those whom they addressed, to consider the following principles:—1st, That as magistrates and their power are ordained of God, so are they, in the exercise thereof, not to walk according to their own will, but according to the law of equity and of righteousness, as being the ministers of God, for the safety of his people. Therefore, they add, a boundless and unlimited power is to be acknowledged in no king or magistrate; neither is our King to be admitted to the exercise of his authority, as long as he refuses to walk in the administration of the same, according to this rule, and the established

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laws of the kingdom. 2d, That there is a mutual obligation and stipulation betwixt the King and his people. As both of them are tied to God, so each of them are tied one to another, for the performance of mutual and reciprocal duties. 3d, That arbitrary government, and unlimited power, are the fountains of all the corruptions in church and state. 4th, That it is no new thing for kingdoms to preserve themselves from ruin, by putting restraint upon the exercise of the power and government of those who have refused to grant the things that were nesessary for the good of religion, and the people's safety. *

These are political principles which approve themselves to the feelings and the reason of man; the dissemination of which by the ministers, compensated for the wrong application which they sometimes made of their own tenets, and which could not be heard without rousing that noble spirit of independence, and that detestation of oppression, which are the best securities for the great ends which the institution of government was intended to answer. When we compare this magnanimous address to the people, with the tame servility which has too often disgraced the clerical order, and when we contrast such energy in the cause of freedom, with the vile efforts to degrade the human race by the horrors of despotism, we must feel gratitude to the

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1649. p. 11, 12.

men who laid the foundation of that admirable political constitution, which has been erected by their posterity. How much cause was there, before many years had elapsed, to deplore that the example of Scotland was neglected or forgotten; that, in the anxiety to escape from the varying intrigues of military jurisdiction, the monarch was replaced on his throne, without one stipulation to remind him, that he was the minister of God for the happiness of his subjects.

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1649. July.

In the manly spirit which, amidst all their extravagance, had long marked the conduct of the covenanters, the Assembly wrote to the King, explaining their sentiments, vindicating their loyalty, and freely bringing before him what they wished him to do, and what they insisted that he should avoid. *

The success of Cromwell in Ireland, soon made the Prince change his resolution of going to that kingdom; and, as he was coldly received in France, he landed on the island of Jersey, and remained there several months. When the Scotish Parliament heard of his arrival, they dispatched Sir George Winram to renew a negotiation with him. Winram was cordially welcomed by Charles, who was now convinced that Scotland was the only part of his dominions in which he could hope to be received; and, sending him back with general assurances that he would consent to every reasonable proposition,

New embassy to the King. 25th Sept.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1649, p. 29—32.

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1649. Sept.

1650. March.

he appointed Breda as the place for conducting the treaty, and promised to meet the commissioners in the following March. *.

At the time mentioned, the Earls of Cassilis and Lothian, with several other persons, in whom the estates had confidence, were sent to Breda, and proposed the terms upon which the parliament and the church were desirous to welcome their Sovereign. They were instructed to demand, 1. That all those who had been excommunicated by the church, should be removed from court. 2. That the King would be pleased to declare, that he would, by solemn oath, under his hand and seal, allow the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and that he would prosecute the objects of these in his royal station. 3. That he would ratify and approve all acts of parliament, enjoining the solemn league and covenant, and establishing presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the Confession of Faith and catechism, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they were already approved by the General Assembly of the church, and by the parliament of that kingdom; that he would give his

* Trail's MS. Diary. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 346. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 76. There is a considerable inaccuracy in Burnet's account. He says that the Hague was appointed as the place of treaty, and speaks as if it was to be commenced in a few days. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 429, 430. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 342, 343.

royal assent to the acts of parliament, enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions, and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make any opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof. 4. That he would consent and agree that all matters civil, might be determined by the present and subsequent parliaments of the kingdom of Scotland, and all matters ecclesiastical, by the General Assemblies of the church, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late father. *

CHAP. XXI. 1650. March.

Remarks upon the conditions proposed to the King.

These conditions must have been most mortifying to Charles. Not only was he required to consent to measures with respect to religion, to which, notwithstanding his looseness of principle and his contempt of his father's firmness, he had, from the beginning of the negotiation, shewn the most decided aversion, but his best friends, were, by his own act, to be removed from him. Had he followed his inclination, he would have rejected a crown, which, it was evident, that they who offered it, could not secure to him, and which, although secured, brought with it nothing which could gratify ambition; but the hopeless state to which he was reduced, the expectation that some change in his favour might take place, and the advice of his

* Trail's MS. Diary. MS. Life of Livingston, one of the persons sent, p. 24, 25. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 446. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 422, 423. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 344, 345.

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1650. April.

mother, seconded by that of the Duke of Hamilton, led him, after in vain endeavouring to obtain some relaxation of the demand, to resolve upon compliance. He accordingly intimated his intention, but he delayed to subscribe the treaty, flattering himself that Montrose would make some impression upon Scotland, which would abridge or destroy the power of the prevailing faction. *

Expedition of Montrose.

This nobleman, after receiving some money from the king of Denmark, and from a few Englishmen settled in Sweden, arrived in Orkney. Having crossed over to the north of Scotland, he published a declaration, in which he professed, that he had no intentions to interrupt the negotiation at Breda, but to facilitate arrangements, in which the King and his people were deeply concerned; and he called upon those who coincided with him to join his standard. Upon the intelligence of his having landed, the parliament took vigorous measures to defeat his schemes. David Leslie, with a considerable army, immediately marched against him, and a small body of troops, under Strachan, a zealous covenanter, preceded the general. Montrose soon found that there was little inclination to espouse his cause. The recollection of his former devastations was still fresh in the minds of the people; the church, by excommunica-

* Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 344—346. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 422. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 580, 581. Letter from Charles II. to Montrose, in Appendix to the Memoirs of Montrose, No. 13.

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tion, and continual invective, had excited against him general abhorrence, and some, who, notwithstanding, would have supported him, were deterred by the conviction that his efforts would not be successful. Strachan, having unexpectedly attacked him, completely defeated his small army, and he himself with difficulty escaped. He was soon after betrayed by the person in whose honour he confided, and having been delivered to Leslie, he was immediately sent to Edinburgh. The events which followed, are disgraceful to the kingdom, and particularly to the clergy. He was treated with every degree of contempt and of ignominy, and, after he was condemned, his last moments were imbittered by the officiousness of the ministers, who, in preparing him for dissolution, sunk the tender regard of Christian pastors in their eagerness to express that hatred of the prisoner which might now have been forgotten. His death was in harmony with the fortitude which had ever marked his character. He ascended the scaffold with noble intrepidity,—he paid no attention to the clergy, whom he had previously entreated to permit him to die in peace, but after conversing with those who surrounded him, he was executed as a traitor. His head was then separated from his body, and his legs and arms were, with revolting inhumanity, sent to different parts of the kingdom, that they might be brutally exposed to the gaze of the multitude. *

1650. April. He is defeated, condemned, and executed.

21st May.

* Concluding Chapter of Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, and

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1650. May.

Effect of his death.

The circumstances attending his death, could not fail to make a deep impression upon the public mind. The community would have been lost to all that is good, if it had shewn, in this case, no commiseration. The feelings of humanity did, with numbers, gain the ascendancy over the sternness of covenanting zeal; they pitied the fate of a man whom they had once admired, and they regarded, with indignation, the exultation of the ministers over his destruction. *

Proposal to break off the treaty with the King.

As the expedition, which thus fatally terminated, took place during the negotiation with the King, the violent party, who were secretly anxious to prevent his arrival, represented his commission to Montrose as a breach of faith, and insisted that the treaty should be suspended, and the commissioners recalled. This, however, was successfully opposed; and the information which was conveyed to the King, of what had taken place, was softened by expressions of attachment, and by entreating him to believe, that all which had been done with re-

Appendix, No. 17. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 453—456. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 849—857. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 71, 72. Trail's, MS. Diary. Trail was one of the Ministers who attended him, and he has given a full account of Montrose, about the time of his execution. I had copied it for insertion, —but this, with several other papers, anxiety not to enlarge this Work has induced me to omit.

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 72. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 457.

spect to Montrose, had been to promote his interest. * CHAP. XXI.

Charles now saw that more favourable conditions could not be obtained, and, yielding to the counsels of those in whom he confided, he reluctantly determined to sail for Scotland, that he might take possession of the tottering throne which was still offered. Having agreed to the terms of the treaty, he embarked, accompanied by the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Lauderdale, who, though prescribed by the act of classes, had been permitted, by the parliamentary commissioners, to pay this mark of respect to the King, from their having advised him to comply with the requisitions of the estates. Before he landed, he was required to take the solemn league and covenant. He shewed much aversion to subscribe, and he wished to make a declaration before he did so; but this having been refused, he at length consented, and Livingston, one of the ministers who attended him, performed the ceremony, not without the conviction that his Majesty was not sincere. He arrived in Scotland about the middle of June. † 1650. The King arrives in Scotland. 16th June.

If he indulged the hope that his presence would His reception.

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 72. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part i. p. 357. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 458. compared with Rapin, Vol. II. p. 581.

† MS. Life of Livingston, p. 31, 32. Trail's MS. Diary. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 423, and Hist. of his own Times, p. 72. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 462. Clarendon, Vol. III. Part ii. p. 365, 366.

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1650. July.

mitigate the rigour of the ruling faction, he was soon undeceived. Immediately upon his landing, Hamilton and Lauderdale, whom the estates had sent instructions not to admit into the kingdom, but which, from the lateness of their arrival, could not be executed, were ordered to leave him; and when he remonstrated, Hamilton, after preparing him for more humiliating requisitions, candidly advised him to court Argyll, who might essentially serve him. That nobleman hastened to receive the King. He welcomed him with every expression of respectful loyalty, but Charles was not for a moment left in doubt as to the manner in which his subjects were to conduct themselves towards him. Had his condition been estimated from external appearances, he might have been considered as possessing the affections and the reverence of his people. He was at all times approached with the most submissive demeanour, and he was attended as it became a sovereign. But amidst this ostentation of attachment, he was really a prisoner. His servants were taken from him; he was not permitted to be present at the deliberations of the council, nor was the result of these deliberations communicated to him; his court was filled with the most zealous of the ministers, who condemned all gaiety as sinful, and who exhausted his patience by arguments to accomplish his conversion; he was required constantly to attend divine worship, and to hear in succession many sermons, often inculcating upon him his duty, and

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conveying the prevailing sentiments respecting his character. The gloomy austerity of the preachers, which cast its influence over social enjoyment, and branded his levity with a sternness little calculated to conciliate, or to amend, disgusted him at those whom he should have laboured to gain, and strengthened that indifference to religion, and that proneness to dissipation, by which his whole life was unhappily distinguished. * 1650. July.

The treaty of the Scots with the King, and his arrival in Scotland, were contemplated in England, now become a commonwealth, with natural anxiety; and the government dreading an invasion, and knowing that the presbyterians, who were very numerous, would join their former brethren, wisely resolved to anticipate what might prove so formidable. Fairfax having declined the command of the army destined for this purpose, Cromwell was invested with it, who, pressing to the point of his destination, entered Scotland, and finding no opposition, marched towards Edinburgh. † Cromwell marches to Scotland. 30th July.

The Scotish council, however, had not been blind to the danger with which the kingdom was The King's declaration.

* Clarendon, Vol. III. Part ii. p. 366—368. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 73. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 464. Trail's MS. Diary. This writer gives the following account of the frequency of preaching. "We had all this summer plenty of the gospel in the public ordinances, there being a daily lecture concluded for morning and evening throughout the whole week."

† Trail's MS. Diary. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 281, 282. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 466. Clarendon, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 365.

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1650. 16th Aug

threatened, and they had made vigorous and successful efforts to raise a powerful army. Aware that a large party was not reconciled to the treaty with the King, and eager at this juncture to unite the community, they resolved to require from Charles a declaration, which it was hoped would remove the fears, even of the most violent of his opponents. The General Assembly, which had met only for a few days, delegated its authority to the commission; and in this judicatory the declaration was composed. It put into the mouth of the King a confession of the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and ascribed to the late monarch all the blood which had been shed. Charles was further made to express deep regret for his own perverted education,—to admit that the whole of his past life had been in direct opposition to the will of God,—to acknowledge that he repented of the commission which he had given to Montrose,—and to profess that he would adhere to all which he now promised, till the end of his life. Never was a more painful insult offered to a degraded monarch. Even the fury of party-zeal, did not so far blind those with whom it originated, as to lead them to imagine, that Charles would consider the declaration as founded in truth; and the resolution to impose it on him, from the expectation that his calamitous circumstances would induce him solemnly to utter a falsehood, evinces, that, amidst the loudest professions of reverence for religion, there was a sad perversion

of moral principle. The King, light and thoughtless as he was, read it with horror; and he earnestly, though vainly, implored, that some of the strongest expressions might be changed. Had he been actuated by a suitable regard to his own dignity, he should have inflexibly persisted in his determination not to degrade himself by annexing his name to such a proclamation, but he yielded to what he viewed as the pressure of necessity; and, after some slight alterations, which did not remove what he abhorred, he published it to his amazed, his indignant, or his mourning subjects. * 1650.

Cromwell at length found a formidable enemy. He endeavoured to bring them to action, but Leslie, who commanded, wisely shunned an engagement, and the English general was forced to retreat. He hastened to Dunbar, with the design of attempting to transport his troops to England, and he was surrounded with difficulties from which even he would have found it difficult to escape. At this critical moment, Leslie formed the determination which proved fatal to his army. Advantageously 3d Sept. Battle of Dunbar.

* Trail's MS. Diary. Trail was one of the persons who waited upon the King to urge the declaration, and mentions, that his Majesty wished some of the expressions to be modified. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 353, much to his honour disapproved of this step. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 78. He gives the substance of the declaration, but assigns to it a wrong date. The declaration may be seen at full length in Appendix to Wodrow's Hist. Vol I. No. I. Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ, published 1680, p. 137, 138.

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1650. Sept.

encamped, if he had kept his station only for a few days, he would probably have witnessed the dispersion or destruction of the invaders. Of this he was himself convinced; but his judgment was overpowered. Many of the officers and of the ministers who attended him were dissatisfied with what they condemned as shameful inactivity; the fanatics, who composed a large part of his soldiers, were persuaded by their preachers, that God would deliver the sectaries into their hands,—they became importunate for battle,—and Leslie, unable to resist, descended to the plain. Cromwell, who, with his army, had been employed in what he called seeking the Lord, saw the Scotch beginning to move, and he, with exultation, cried out, "Now hath God delivered them to me." The engagement soon commenced; Cromwell charged with a vigour which was feebly resisted; he scattered the army from which he had fled, and having got possession of its baggage and artillery, he marched to Edinburgh, which, with the exception of the castle, immediately surrendered. *

Cromwell's correspondence with

Upon his entering the city, finding that most of the ministers had taken refuge in the castle, he sent

* Clarendon, Vol. III. Part ii. p. 375—377. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 74, 75. Trail's MS. Diary. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 474. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 347. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 282—285. Ludlow mentions, that Cromwell had determined to attack the Scotish army; but Burnet's account, which I have chiefly followed as to this point, is, I think, confirmed by an incidental expression of Baillie.

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to inform the governor that they might return to their churches, and have full liberty to exercise their functions, as he had no quarrel with Scotland on account of its religion. The ministers, however, who abhorred him as the head of the sectaries, and as the inveterate enemy of the covenanters, refused to accept of this indulgence; and a correspondence between them and the English general in consequence took place. They inveighed against the violation of the covenant, and the abuse of lay-preaching; he defended the great principle of toleration, condemned the officiousness with which they interfered in civil affairs, and pleaded that any one might preach who could promote the influence of religion. The result was what might have been foreseen. The clergy persisted in their opposition to him; and they continued in the castle till its surrender took place in the end of December. *

1651. the Ministers of Edinburgh.

The complete triumph of Cromwell produced very different effects upon the inhabitants of Scotland. The chief men of the prevailing party, supported by the great majority of the ministers, were determined to take new measures for preserving the independence of their country; they began to collect another army, and they paid greater deference to the King than they had formerly done. A small but formidable faction, acted in a different

Effects of Cromwell's success.

* Trail's MS. Diary. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 472, 473. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain. Vol. II. p. 863, 864. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 23—26.

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manner; and as it gave rise to the division which afterwards weakened and disgraced the church, it is requisite to give an account of the principles by which it was guided.

Account of the party hostile to the King.

It has been already mentioned, that there were some who were against inviting Charles to Scotland, but who, when they could not defeat this, proposed such terms as they thought he would indignantly reject. Following out their original views, they threw every obstacle in the way of raising forces to oppose Cromwell, and, although they afterwards joined the army, they did not lose sight of the designs which they had formed. After the defeat at Dunbar, when every patriot should have been eager to retrieve the honour, and to assert the liberty of the nation, they increased divisions which should have been healed, and paralyzed the government which it was their duty to strengthen. They were directed by Gillespie, a factious minister, whose name has been frequently mentioned, and they were supported by Strachan, who held a high rank in the army. This man, originally of dissolute manners, had imbibed the religious tenets of the strict covenanters; but he still preserved a restless and factious spirit; and from his having defeated Montrose, he was the object of popular veneration. The party thus formed and directed, published a daring remonstrance, in which they reprobated the treaty with the King, condemned the proceedings of the ecclesiastical judicatories,—insisted that the govern-

ment of Charles should, notwithstanding the agreement, be suspended till he had given satisfactory evidence of a real change of disposition and character,—professed the utmost zeal in the cause of England, and concluded by avowing, that, if the Lord should lengthen their days, and take pleasure in them, to make them any way instrumental in his work, and for his people's good and safety, they would, to the uttermost of their power, endeavour to get all the evils which they had specified, remedied, according to their places and callings. This threat, which implied a total disregard of all constituted authorities in church or state, was the more alarming, from their having the command of a considerable body of troops, and from the necessity of joining all who could, consistently with the laws, as they then stood, be employed in the service of their country; and to these causes it must be ascribed, that the commission, although it refused to transmit the remonstrance, attempted to sooth those by whom it was presented; and that the government, instead of punishing the framers of it, combined with them some forces, expecting that they would thus be rendered steady in the national cause. It was, however, at length seen to be requisite to condemn their proceedings; but although this was done in the gentlest manner, they were dissatisfied, and some of them did not hesitate to insinuate, that the commission of the church would approve nothing that was right,—that a hypocrite ought not to reign

1650.

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1650. over them,—and that the nation ought to treat with Cromwell, and give him security not to trouble England with a king. Whilst they continued in the attitude of defiance to the King, and to all the legislative and ecclesiastical assemblies, which they should have respected, they were attacked in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, by a party of the English, and were defeated, Strachan immediately joining the usurper. But although as a body they thus were dispersed, the tenets which they had avowed were still by many entertained, and prepared them for the dissensions which soon destroyed the harmony, and diminished the respectability of the church. *

Dec.

Oct. The King escapes from the superintendence of Argyll.

Whilst the remonstrants, as they were denominated, were displaying their enmity to the King, he was induced to make a desperate attempt to rescue himself from the humiliating thraldom in which he was held by Argyll and his party. Stung with the recollection of the obnoxious declaration, and alarmed by insinuations of designs against his life, which

* Burnet, Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 77, 78, has given a very just account of the principles avowed by the framers of the remonstrance; but he has mistaken the time of their appearance, making it after the relaxations in favour of the malignants, instead of before. For full information on the subject, the reader may consult Baillie, Vol. II. p. 349—365; and a pamphlet, now I believe rather scarce, which was published at London 1657, and is entitled, "A true representation of the rise, progress, and state of the present divisions of the Church of Scotland." Some facts, relating to this matter, are inserted by Whitelocke in his Memorials, p. 484, 485.

derived countenance from the language of the remonstrance, he listened to a request, that he would join a party of determined royalists in the north of Scotland. Although some intimation of this was given to Argyll, he either paid to it little attention, or imagined that there was no risk of the King's escape; but Charles eluded his guards, and crossed the Tay, confiding in the assurances of effectual support. He soon found that he had been deceived. None were ready to support him; he had the prospect of much inconvenience, and much danger; and, desirous to return, he did not resist the entreaties of the persons whom Argyll had sent to solicit that he would relinquish his schemes. 1650.

This rash attempt, which was called the start, produced a happy change upon his situation. The covenanters, who were really attached to monarchy, were now struck with the rigorous manner in which they had treated their sovereign. Argyll, and his friends, saw the dangerous consequences which might have resulted, had the King put himself at the head of a body of insurgents; and they became convinced, that it was the dictate of policy, no less than of duty, to render his situation more respectable than it had hitherto been. Accordingly, he was from this time permitted to sit in the committee of estates. Much was done to promote his comfort; an act of indemnity was passed in favour of those by whom he had been invited to go to the north of Scotland; measures were taken for raising an army;

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and the coronation was fixed for the commencement of the following year. *

1650. Rise of divisions in the church.

The King, who bitterly regretted that those to whom he was most attached, were, in consequence of their having concurred in the engagement against England, excluded from his presence, and disqualified from serving in the army, had repeatedly urged that the incapacitating act should be repealed, and that, upon their expressing their repentance, all who could defend the country should be permitted to do so. His wishes in this matter had been long resisted; but the desire to please him, combined with the alarm occasioned by the dispersion of the troops under Strachan, led the prevailing party now to adopt his suggestions. An act of indemnity was published, and the intention of employing malignants was avowed; but as no matter of such importance could be safely taken, without the concurrence of the church, the commission was solicited to express its approbation. It was requested to declare what persons should be permitted, and in what capacity, to join with the forces of the kingdom, for its defence against the armies of the sectaries, who, contrary to the solemn league and covenant, and treaties, have most unjustly invaded, and are destroying the kingdom. After much deliberation and opposition,

* Clarendon, Vol. III. Part ii. p. 393—395. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 78, 79, compared with his Memoirs, p. 424. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 356, 357. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 475, 476.

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1650. 14th Dec.

the following decision was pronounced :—" In this case of so great and evident necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all forcible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against this enemy for the defence of the kingdom, excepting such as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane or flagitious, or such as have been from the beginning, or continue still obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God ; and for the capacity of acting, that the estates of parliament ought to have, as we hope they will have, special care, that, in this so general a concurrence of all the people of the kingdom, none be put in such trust and power, as may be prejudicial to the cause of God ; and that such officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and particularly such as have suffered in our former armies, may be specially noticed." It was added, that all who were to be benefited by the intended alteration of law, should profess their repentance of that part of their conduct which had occasioned their exclusion. Against this temperate resolution, the violent ministers loudly exclaimed, as betraying the great cause ; they reprobated admitting to professions of repentance, men who would not shrink from profanation to gain their objects ; and, irritated by the appointment of many whom they abhorred to places of high trust in the army, they used their influence to obtain from different presbyteries, official declarations against the sentence of the com-

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mission. Their opposition became more vehement, when some months after, they found that the act of

1651. 24th May.

classes was to be repealed, and that the church concurred with the estates. Both these resolutions, which have been mentioned, having been formally

July.

confirmed by a General Assembly, they protested against the lawfulness of that Assembly, and from this time, two parties were formally organized; the one distinguished by the title of the Resolutioners, which comprehended the great part of the clergy, the other by that of the Protesters, which consisted of the most factious ministers, and of such as were hostile to monarchy. *

Coronation. 1st Jan.

Whilst the resolutions were agitating the passions, and gratifying the loyalty of different classes of the community, preparations were made for crowning the King at Scone. Agreeably to the rigid devotion of that period, the minds of the people were prepared for this solemnity by two days of fasting, the one for the corruption of all ranks, and particularly for the contempt of the gospel; the other for the sins of the King's family, which, to use the language even of the moderate part of the ministers,

* True Representation of the Rise, &c. of the divisions of the Church of Scotland, p. 10—24. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 2—5. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 348 and 365—368. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 424, 425, and Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 76, 77. Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 395. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 484. Trail's MS. Diary. Life of Livingstone, p. 34. Both Trail and Livingstone joined the Protesters, though the latter complains of their violence.

it was dreaded might have influence in the Lord's controversy with them. * These days having been observed, the coronation took place on the first of January; and is rendered remarkable by the contrast between the professions which Charles then made, and the whole of his conduct after the Restoration. In his prince's robes, attended by the nobility, and by the commissioners of the barons and the boroughs, he took his seat in the chamber of presence, in the palace of Scone, and the Lord Chancellor thus addressed him:—"Your good subjects desire that you may be crowned, as the righteous and lawful heir of the crown of this kingdom, that you would maintain religion as presently professed and established, conform to the national covenant, and the league and covenant, and according to your declaration at Dunfermline in August last: Also, that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your Highness's protection, to govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and to defend them in their rights and liberties by your royal power; offering themselves, in the most humble manner, to your Majesty, with their vows to bestow land and life, what else is in their power for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your Majesty's sacred person, and maintenance of your crown, which they entreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty

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* Trail's MS. Diary. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 348.

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God that, for many years, you may happily enjoy the same." To this his Majesty answered, "I do esteem the affections of my good people, more than the crowns of many kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness."

This part of the ceremony being concluded, he was accompanied to church by the officers of his household, and by the noblemen and gentlemen who were present, the Marquis of Argyll carrying the crown before him. Having taken his place, a sermon was preached by Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and moderator of the commission, a man firmly attached to a limited monarchy, but a zealous presbyterian. In this sermon, founded upon a striking and applicable passage of Scripture, he inculcated some of the great principles of political liberty, stating views of sovereignty, admirably calculated to ensure the happiness of the community, though little consonant to the arbitrary maxims of the house of Stuart. The King then again took the covenants, declaring, in the presence of God, his approbation of them, and his resolution to observe them in his own practice and family. When he had thus sworn, an address was made to the people. The Lyon King at Arms said to them, "I do present unto you the King, Charles, the rightful and undoubted heir of the crown and dignity of this realm.—This day is, by the parlia-

ment of the kingdom, appointed for his coronation, and are you not willing to have him for your King, and to obey his commandments?" His Majesty, at these words, presented himself to his subjects, who exclaimed, God save the King, Charles the Second. The coronation oath being read, he lifted up his hand and swore to observe and keep all that was contained in it; after which he was invested with the royal garments, and the crown was put on his head. Each of the nobles then kneeling, and touching the crown, swore by the Almighty and Eternal God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to support him to the uttermost, and with one voice all declared that they would be true and loyal subjects. The ceremony terminated by an exhortation from the officiating minister. *

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There was a degree of solemnity in the whole of the proceedings, which could not fail to make a deep impression upon those by whom they were witnessed; and when all the circumstances attending them are considered, they suggest the most important political reflections. Charles was called to the throne, not in the usual manner, but after, by the execution of his father, the government had been virtually dissolved; and although he was re-

* Form and order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, printed at Aberdeen, p. 1651. The Sermon of Douglas is published with it. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 287. Douglas preached from 2 Kings, 11th chapter.

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1651. cognized as the heir of the monarchy, this was in fact the commencement of a new era, and of a new constitution. Perhaps the history of the world does not afford a more striking example of that mutual compact which virtually subsists between a monarch and his people. The coronation oath was indeed taken in the common form, but additional stipulations were required; his prerogative was precisely limited, and allegiance was promised only upon the supposition that the limitations should not be transgressed. It is impossible to conceive a more sacred obligation than that under which Charles now came. He solemnly pledged himself to maintain the presbyterian government of the church, and never to change that government; and if circumstances could cancel this oath, we must admit the melancholy conclusions, that no moral principles should influence the conduct of a Sovereign, and that liberty is inconsistent with the existence of monarchy. The manner in which the King did set at defiance his promises and his appeals to the Deity, is the best justification of the covenanters, because all doubt is thus removed, that, if they had not restricted him in the exercise of his sovereignty, he would have followed the steps of his ancestors,—he would have forgotten that power is a trust for the good of the community,—and would have trampled upon those rights, reverence for which is the surest foundation of a throne.

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The army commanded by the King and officers attached to him.

The most strenuous efforts were now made to raise such an army as the situation of the kingdom required. Multitudes who, before the resolutions of the commission, would, as malignants, have been excluded, joyfully enrolled themselves, and the King's friends were permitted to have the freest access to court, and to command under him. Before the defeat at Dunbar, he had been once allowed to see the troops, but dread of the influence which he might acquire over them, or apprehension, excited by some loyal exclamations, led Argyll instantly to remove him. But matters were now completely changed. He was, as he ought to be, the head of the army; and, with the exception of being still obliged to conform in the article of religion, and of the covenant, he had much reason to be gratified with his situation. *

The King marches to England. July or Aug.

Guided by the experience of David Leslie, whom he had appointed to be one of his generals, his Majesty took a situation, from which Cromwell, eager to engage, was unable to draw him; and the usurper, finding his attempts to force a battle ineffectual, sent a detachment of his army across the Forth to cut off the royal resources. Surrounded by difficulties, and convinced that it was impossible to continue the war longer in Scotland, Charles re-

* Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 395. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 369. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 79. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 484.

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solved to march into England, that he might transfer to that country the seat of hostilities, and thus both alarm the parliament, and encourage the presbyterians to join his standard. Cromwell was astonished at the execution of this scheme. Aware of the importance of counteracting it, he made the most judicious arrangements for preserving the advantages which he had already gained; and within three days, he commenced a pursuit. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the events which rapidly took place. Charles, disappointed of reinforcements, reached Worcester; the enemy pressed upon his steps,—an engagement took place on the same day of the month which had, on the preceding year, proved at Dunbar so fatal to Scotland,—the King's army was routed and dispersed,—the Duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded,—and his Majesty himself, after lurking for some time in fear of being betrayed, made his escape to France, relinquishing the crown which, only a few months before, had been placed upon his head. *

Battle of Worcester. 3d Sept.

Reduction of the whole of Scotland.

This decisive victory rendered all attempts to resist, in Scotland, evidently hopeless. After some unadvised opposition by the town of Dundee, and a few feeble efforts in the Highlands, Monk, afterwards so celebrated, succeeded in reducing that an-

* Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 395—426. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 425—431. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 311—315. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 575.

cient kingdom; and it now sunk for a few years into an English province. The Scotch, however, thus obtained tranquillity, to which they had long been unaccustomed,—justice was fairly and regularly administered,—the wealth circulated by the English army stimulated industry,—vice was suppressed or punished,—commissioners were permitted to sit in the parliament of England; and if the feelings, so dear to men who valued freedom and national independence, could have been eradicated, they might have considered the time which elapsed till the Restoration, as a season of peace and prosperity.* 1651.

Dissensions in the church continued.

It might have been supposed, that, after the destruction of the army and the flight of the King, the ministers would have united in inculcating the principles to which they professed to adhere, and in guarding the people against those sectaries whom they had often represented as the enemies of religion, but who had now acquired the direction of affairs in Britain. Cromwell, although he prescribed some bounds to the licence with which churchmen had interfered in civil matters, and to prevent any factious attempts to embarrass his government, prohibited the meeting of General Assemblies,

* Continuation of Clarendon's history, published from his own MS. at Oxford, 1749, Vol. II. p. 92, 93. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 80, and 84. Life of Livingstone. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 509, 515, and 596. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 315, 316, 334, and 345, 346.

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which for many years had controlled or directed the administration of the kingdom, acting in conformity to his maxims of toleration, threw no obstacles in the way of the established clergy, but encouraged them to devote their time to the discharge of the duties connected with their sacred function. His soldiers indeed, guided by the enthusiasm which he had cherished, were the advocates of lay-preaching, and many of them, to use the expression of the times, were gifted men, and exercised their gifts; but they were restrained from molesting the people in their religious services, and the fullest liberty was given to the presbyterians to continue their ministry. Under these circumstances, it was incumbent upon conscientious teachers, to support the polity which they believed to be founded on the word of God, and, by disseminating the instructions and consolations of religion, to have sustained their own minds, and the minds of their people, amidst the calamities and the dangers to which they were exposed. They acted, however, in a very different manner. That factious spirit which had troubled the state, now that it was prevented from being thus occupied, took a new direction, and the church exhibited scenes of contest, of anarchy, and of insubordination, most disgraceful to the clergy, and most pernicious to the moral and spiritual improvement of the community. *

* Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 398, and continuation of ditto, Vol. II. as last quoted. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 369, 370, and 380.

When the General Assembly approved the resolutions of the commission, respecting the malignants, the remonstrants, as has been already mentioned, protested; they renewed the protest at an Assembly held in the subsequent year, and they intended to act in the same manner at the time when the holding of Assemblies was interdicted. Had the question, in which the dissatisfaction of the remonstrants originated, been again to be decided, the same ardour which led them originally to remonstrate, might have induced them to persevere, and to consider it as a point of conscience to stop what they reprobated, as leading to the most pernicious abuse. But the cause of complaint no longer existed. The King, driven from Britain, was wandering on the Continent, despised or neglected,—the party of the malignants was destroyed,—and the dangers with which the ministers were now threatened, was the increase of sects, and their subjection to authorities, created by men who had no ecclesiastical character, and who were hostile to the intolerance which the presbyterians had uniformly displayed. Delighting, however, in the opposition which they had commenced, or eager to gain for their party full influence over the people, the remonstrants placed their complaints on a new foundation, and identified with the purity of the church,

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Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 60. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 528, 553, 555, and 561. In the Life of Livingstone are some facts which confirm what has been stated.

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the disputes which had taken their rise from the political views of those by whom they were created. When they persisted in their opposition to ecclesiastical judicatories, it became necessary for these judicatories to interfere, in vindication of their authority; and three of the most active protesters having been deposed, and one suspended, the remainder left the Assembly which exercised this act of jurisdiction, to prepare for strengthening their resistance. *

The majority of the clergy acted in this delicate emergency with the utmost moderation. Aware of the unhappy effects which would result from division, and eager to unite, they attempted to conciliate their brethren, and made every concession which did not imply the subversion of presbyterian polity. But this calmness inflamed, if possible, the violence of their adversaries. They paid little attention to the representation of the calamities which their obstinacy would occasion; they evaded the argument derived from their oath, to submit to the General Assembly, by declaring, that they considered the Assemblies of which they complained, as shackled and corrupted; and they began to act in a manner, which shews how readily men can render religious principles subservient to the gratifica-

* True Representation, &c. p. 24, 42, and 45. Wodrow's Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 6. Trail's MS. Diary. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 534. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 85.

tion of passions, which religion restrains or condemns. They appealed to the people, asserting that they were guided by the purest motives, and with disingenuity and hypocrisy much to be lamented, but which are too frequent in the history of the church, arrogated to themselves the appellation of the godly, insinuating or affirming, that all who opposed them were men of depraved principles, or not influenced by the spirit of the gospel. They collected numbers of ministers, elders, and private Christians in meetings, not recognized by the church, and after prayer, by any disposed to offer it, and a confession of sins, they discussed topics upon which the established judicatories alone were competent to decide, and even blamed what these judicatories had sanctioned. This was plainly schismatical, and displayed a turbulence most unbecoming the character of the ministers of peace. That they might, however, not appear in open rebellion to the constitution which they had held forth as prescribed by Scripture, they offered to obey the commission of the last General Assembly, which they acknowledged; and, in name of this body, which had no title to act, published their defiance of all which they were required to obey. But to raise their popularity, they had recourse to methods, which, in a religious point of view, were perhaps still more exceptionable. In celebrating the Lord's supper, they departed from the decent mode which had been prescribed, and which required that the

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minister of each parish should dispense it; and assembling immense multitudes from contiguous parishes, they employed the most fervent of the clergy to deliver numerous sermons; they affected a gloominess of devotion, which has often been identified with the homage due to a merciful Creator; they inflamed the prejudices and the enthusiastical zeal of those who listened to them; and they thus rendered an ordinance, graciously intended to be the bond of charity, instrumental in cherishing the worst dispositions, and in withdrawing their flocks from those pastors who adhered to the church. The manner in which they conducted divine worship, was adapted to convey the idea, that they were favoured with peculiar communications of the spirit; they even altered the natural tone of the human voice, that they might inspire religious horror; and when they had thus made themselves to be regarded as the chosen servants of God, they declaimed against the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church. When they had gained a decided ascendancy over the minds of the people, they began to withdraw from their more moderate brethren, and, associating in presbyteries, conducted their proceedings as if they had been exclusively vested with ecclesiastical power.

Such systematic opposition to the discipline which they affected to revere, could not have been continued, had not the authority of government been relaxed, and had they not been supported by those

commissioners from the English parliament, who really administered the affairs of Scotland. Violent as had been their abhorrence of sectaries, and strongly as they had, even since the flight of the King, expressed that abhorrence, their enmity to Charles formed a tie, which united the protesters with the commonwealth. The friends of Cromwell considered them as more worthy of confidence than the ministers who still professed a regard for the exiled monarch; and they readily listened to their requests and representations. Thus aided by the commissioners, who were invested with power to remove or to confirm ministers according to their political sentiments, the protesters interfered with the nomination of pastors; objected, without respect to the wishes of the people or the piety of the person, to all who were not of their own party; and with the most arbitrary and oppressive officiousness, often ejected incumbents, who had long been settled, and whose exemplary lives they did not venture to dispute. They succeeded in procuring from the English judges and sequestrators, an order that no minister should be entitled to the emoluments of his benefice, till he produced a certificate, subscribed by four clergymen, authorized to grant it; and they thus got into their own hands the patronage of the greater number of livings.

From this slight view of the state of ecclesiastical parties, it is apparent, that, although presbytery continued to be the nominal form of church-govern-

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ment, it had completely lost its energy,—that the English gladly fomented division,—and that there was a much greater degree of interference in spiritual matters, on the part of the civil power, than had ever taken place since the reformation. Attempts were indeed made by both factions to promote union, but these attempts repeatedly failed; the protesters insisting upon concessions amounting to a revolution in the administration of the church. Their differences were at length submitted to Cromwell, who had no inclination to remove them. He cordially received the protesters, but as he did not wish to offend the presbyterians in England, and was hostile to the intolerant principles of those who courted him, he listened to the representations of Sharp, afterwards so celebrated, and held out the hope that harmony would yet be restored. This, however, did not happen, for although, after the death of the Protector, the violence of the protesters was in some degree lessened, their formal separation from the church was anticipated; and this separation was considered by the resolutionists, as the only event which could restore tranquillity. *

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 369—427, and particularly p. 415—418, and 422—425. A True Representation of the Rise, &c. *passim*. A Declaration of the Brethren who are for the Established Government and Judicatories of this Church, a pamphlet printed at Edinburgh 1658. Review and examination of a pamphlet, lately printed, entitled, Protesters and Subverters. Life of Livingstone, who was himself a protester, but who candidly says, "I was not well satisfied that the protesters keeped so many meetings, so numerous,

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1660. Conduct of the church of Scotland towards the King.

After the defeat at Worcester, the protesters, in their anxiety to conciliate the protector, and to gratify their own antipathy to Charles, readily obeyed an injunction from England, no longer to pray for him, thus expressly violating the covenant which bound those who subscribed it not to desert the interests of the Sovereign. The other ministers, considering that his absence from Scotland did not destroy their duty of allegiance, prayed for him in the usual manner; and this was one great cause of the partiality which the government showed to the opposite faction. At length, however, all classes of the community submitted to Cromwell; little attention was paid to the fate of Charles; attempts to restore him were evidently vain; and it became a question, how far it was binding upon the clergy to continue the observance of a ceremony which gave offence, and which was prohibited by the supreme power. Many of them were of opinion, that, whilst they retained the resolution to promote his cause, they might remain silent; and this opinion in the end was universally adopted, partly no doubt in consequence of an ordinance, that all who prayed for the King should be deprived of their stipends. This step has been censured as a relin-

and of so long continuance, which I thought made the division the wider." Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 85, 90. Remarks upon this subject are interspersed in Whitelocke's Memorials, under the years which elapsed from the defeat at Worcester, till the death of Cromwell.

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quishment of principle, but much certainly may be urged in extenuation of it; and if it did display pusillanimity, that was compensated by the decided manner in which they contributed to the Restoration. *

1660.

1658. Steps leading to the Restoration.

When, upon the death of Cromwell, it became evident that there would be a change of government, the resolution-party in Scotland determined to use their efforts for placing the King upon the throne. The violence of their opponents, and the influence which they had acquired over the people, naturally rendered the friends of the church anxious to strengthen it; and they hoped that this would be most effectually done, by the recall of a Sovereign, who had solemnly pledged himself to adhere to the covenant, and to support the presbyterian establishment. It has been supposed, that they communicated with General Monk upon this subject, before he marched from Scotland; and it is certain that they, after this, corresponded with him, received assurances from him, that he would gladly contribute to the welfare of their church, and that they could not be more ready to propose measures for this purpose, than he would be to adopt them. In compliance with their request, that Sharp, who had formerly been their agent, might

1660. 15th Jan.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 389, and 412. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 87. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 93.

attend him, to inform him of the state of feeling and of sentiment in Scotland, he granted permission to him to come to London. Sharp was instructed by his friends to use his endeavours, that the church might enjoy all her privileges; to testify against the late sinful toleration, to which they attributed all which they had suffered; and to procure several other objects respecting the stipends of the clergy, in which they were deeply interested. * 1660.

Sharp, when he went to London, was probably sincere in his zeal for presbytery; but, destitute of steady principle, he was captivated by the prospect which he saw opening before him, and powerfully contributed to the restoration of episcopacy; whilst, with mean hypocrisy, he affected, in his letters to those by whom he was employed, to be prosecuting the business which he had been sent by them to promote. From the correspondence which took place between him and the Scotish ministers, it is evident that their sentiments had undergone a material change. Although they still spoke of the covenant, they did so in a manner very different from what a few years before they would have used, and wisely confining their attention to their own country, they declared that they would derive May.

* Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 6, and Appendix to Introduction, No. I. In this valuable work, are inserted many of the letters which passed between Sharp, and those by whom he was employed. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 437, and 439.

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1660. May.

much satisfaction from the establishment of uniformity, but that if the English had no desire for it, it was not incumbent upon them to make with respect to it any stipulation. Firmly convinced that presbytery was not only admirably adapted to convey religious instruction, but was prescribed by the word of God, or founded upon it, they insisted that the presbyterian polity should be established in Scotland; they urged Sharp to take every method to secure this point; and they represented that toleration was of little consequence, because their countrymen, with very few exceptions, were warmly attached to the existing ecclesiastical constitution. They uniformly affirmed, that they had never departed from their attachment to monarchical government, and that they had always wished for the restoration of their sovereign; but, infinitely to their honour, they required that such restrictions should be imposed on him as would give stability to his throne, and secure the rights of his subjects. Sharp regularly transmitted to them accounts of what was passing in London, of the views of parties, and the revolutions of government, and having, as he stated, been induced to repair to Breda to wait upon Charles, he informed them how he had been received; and although there is little doubt that his resolution was, while in Holland,

May 26. firmly taken, he wrote on his return, that the King

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was very affectionate to Scotland, and was resolved not to wrong the Scotish polity of the church.

1660. May. The King is restored.

In this general assurance the ministers confided. Participating in the feelings of joy almost universally excited by the prospect of the King's return, and delighted with the reception which he had given to some of their clergy, they ceased to stipulate for what they were so anxious to secure, imagining that no danger to their church could be reasonably apprehended. Indeed, it is not probable that their attempts, had they been made, would have been effectual. The tide in England ran so high in favour of the monarch, that every suggestion about conditions was disregarded; and when the great Sir Matthew Hale moved in the House, that a committee should be appointed to review the propositions which had been made at the Isle of Wight, Monk interfered, and prevented the discussion which would have followed. The moment for limiting the prerogative, and thus equally strengthening the throne, and providing for the liberties of the people, was thus unhappily lost; and a nation, which had persecuted their late King, which had refused to listen to his concessions, and had, in treating with him, used the indignant language of devoted attachment to freedom, now so

* Introduction to Wodrow's History, p. 6—25. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 129, 130. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 454, and 459.

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completely changed its sentiments, that, as Clarendon justly and strikingly remarks, astonishment was excited where the men had retired who had so long and so successfully opposed the existence of monarchy. The effects of this negligence, or rather of this enthusiasm of loyalty, were soon discerned,—the wisdom of the Scotish ministers, in originally proposing conditions, became apparent,—and had not new changes taken place, Britain would have sunk under the degrading yoke of the most unprincipled oppression. His Majesty, who, a short time before, had been shunned and despised by the continental powers, was now anxiously courted. He embarked for England, and, the second day after his arrival in his kingdom, he entered the metropolis amidst the joyful acclamations of his subjects.*

29th May.

* Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 771, 772. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 441 and 443. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 125, 126. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 702. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 16—18.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SECOND.

Views of the Court respecting the Church of Scotland.... Proceedings of the Committee of Estates.....The King's Letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh....He resolves to change the Ecclesiastical Polity....Meeting of Parliament.....Act Recissory....Effects of it....Synods interrupted.....Apprehension, trial, and execution, of the Marquis of Argyll....Trial and death of James Guthrie....The Parliament prorogued, and episcopacy introduced....Bishops appointed and consecrated....Presbyteries prohibited from meeting.....The bishops arrive in Scotland, and consecrate other prelates....Parliament.... Remarks suggested by the mode in which episcopacy was established.

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1660. Views of the Court respecting the Church of Scotland.

THE hopes which the English presbyterians had, from their intercourse with the King, fondly indulged, were soon after the Restoration destroyed, and episcopacy was in that kingdom fully established. In Scotland, however, whilst arrangements were immediately made for conducting the government, the same precipitation in the settlement of the church did not take place. To presbytery the Scotch had long been conscientiously attached; and they revered and loved the ministers by whom it was defended. These men, strict and even austere in their

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manners, and under the influence of zeal which shrunk from no obstacles, were distinguished by purity and sanctity of life. Earnestly desirous to disseminate the great truths of religion, they mingled with those whose spiritual state they were called to superintend; and thus enlightening their minds, tenderly applied, in seasons of anxiety or distress, the consolations which Christianity has provided for its faithful disciples. To have rashly destroyed a system, which, from so many causes, was endeared to the affections of the community, was, upon political principles, evidently unwise; it would have spread disappointment, or renewed that determined opposition, which, originating from this very source, it had so long been impossible to restrain. The public conduct of the greater part of the ministers also gave them a claim upon Charles, which even he was not inclined openly to disregard; a claim which, in the most profligate mind, must have been strengthened by the recollection of the solemn obligations under which he had once come. They had uniformly professed their predilection for monarchy; and although their loyalty did not restrain them from setting bounds to the prerogative, they had, with the exception only of Sharp, who was now, by the basest means, ingratiating himself with the King, refused to acquiesce in a tender, by which the family of Stuart was abjured.*

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 156, and 225—227. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 1, 3, 5, and 93.

The Earl of Lauderdale, who had been a firm supporter of presbytery, zealously recommended to the King to gratify his Scotish subjects; and although the purpose which he had in view, when he gave the advice, was detestable, the policy which he suggested, was what an enlightened government should have adopted. His Majesty was disposed to do what he was led to believe might prove instrumental in overawing the turbulent, and in establishing despotism; and although Clarendon and Sharp were eager instantly to introduce episcopacy, it was judged prudent, keeping this scheme steadily in view, to proceed with caution. * CHAP. XXII. 1660.

It was at length agreed to institute the most active proceedings against the protesters, who were viewed as the enemies of loyalty; but to give to the more moderate part of the clergy such assurances, that the ecclesiastical constitution should not be invaded, as would lull them in security, whilst these assurances were conveyed in language, which, by jesuitical interpretation, might be shewn not to be inconsistent with the designs of the court. †

The administration of affairs was vested in the committee of estates, which had been appointed by the last parliament; and the Earl of Glencairn, who, Proceedings of the Committee of estates. 23d Aug.

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 52, 53. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 444, and 451. Continuation of Clarendon's History, Vol. II. p. 101—107.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 40, 44, and 49, and History, p. 5.

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in the room of Loudon, was nominated to the high office of Chancellor, although his appointment was not formally subscribed till the following year, came down to Scotland to preside in that Assembly.* An opportunity was immediately afforded of shewing the enmity which was entertained against the remonstrants. A number of them had met in Edinburgh on the same day with the committee. Their object was to congratulate the King upon his restoration; and to mingle with their congratulations an earnest request, that he would act in conformity to the oaths which he had taken when he was crowned at Scone. The committee, upon being informed of their meeting, ordered their papers to be seized. These papers having been examined, they were pronounced to be treasonable, and all who had been concerned in framing them were imprisoned in the castle. James Guthrie, the most active of the protesters, and who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious, was soon after conveyed to Dundee, and was detained in confinement till his trial; the rest were, in a short time, released, and, upon giving bail, were permitted to reside in their own houses.†

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 156. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 7. Crawford's Life of Lord Loudon, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 220.

† Trail's MS. Diary. Trail was one of the number seized. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 7 and 8, and Appendix, No. 3 and 4. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 445, 446. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 160.

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The manner in which this step was taken, too plainly pointed out what would be the character of the new government. Although these ministers had no official capacity, and were not justified in assembling, yet it ought to have been remembered that they were supported by the practice which had long prevailed; and that they were at least entitled to defend their sentiments before they were judged guilty. It is indeed certain, that although they had been permitted to do this, a more lenient sentence would not have been pronounced, for they persisted in refusing to acknowledge that they were wrong, and would probably have gloried in defending what they had done. The intention of acting against them was, to strike terror into the whole of their party; and this intention was fulfilled, for they afterwards changed the bold tone of defiance which they had assumed, and confined themselves to insinuations against the policy which they did not venture openly to condemn. *

The King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

The majority of the clergy were not dissatisfied with the humiliation of the protesters, from whom they had severely suffered; but the procedure of the

Short Memorial of the Grievances and Sufferings of the Presbyterians in Scotland, published 1690, p. 1. Naphtali, p. 152, 153. Hind let Loose, a violent publication in favour of the covenanters, but containing some interesting facts, p. 124, 125.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 8. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 445, 446. He seems to have become attached to the government, and defends in some measure this step. He says that they all refused to acknowledge their fault. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 161. Hind let Loose, p. 125.

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committee would probably have filled them with alarm for themselves, had they not received what they considered as a pledge that they had nothing to fear. Sharp, who still continued his correspondence with the men whom he had betrayed, having

31st Aug.

arrived from London, delivered to some of the ministers of Edinburgh a letter from the King. It was addressed to Robert Douglas, who was still treated with the respect to which his loyalty entitled him; and he was commanded to communicate it to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and afterwards to the different presbyteries of the church. In this letter, his Majesty, after expressing his strong sense of the constant loyalty and affection of the clergy to whom he wrote, and contrasting their conduct with that of their more violent brethren, thus signified to them his intentions:—"And because they who, by the countenance of usurpers, have disturbed the peace of that our church, may also labour to create jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, we have thought fit, by this, to assure you, that, by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance profaneness, and all contemners and opposers of the ordinances of the gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that

tne authority and acts of the General Assembly, at Dundee, 1651, (the Assembly which sanctioned the resolutions) be owned, and stand in force, until we shall call another General Assembly, which we propose to do, as soon as our affairs shall permit; and we do intend to send for Mr Robert Douglas, and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what farther may concern the affairs of that church." He concluded by pointing out the manner in which he wished them to act in the discharge of their functions. 1660. Sept.

Language could not have more forcibly, and to all appearance more unequivocally, declared, that the presbyterian polity was to be preserved inviolate. It was the form of ecclesiastical government, settled by laws passed in a parliament at which Charles the first had been present; and that the King certainly referred to it, was supposed from his promise to ratify the proceedings of one Assembly, to summon another, and to consult with the most eminent ministers in those further arrangements respecting the church, which his restoration might render necessary. The clergy accordingly interpreting the letter as all honest men must have interpreted it, felt the satisfaction which such a communication could not fail to impart. The presbytery of Edin-

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 13, has inserted the King's letter at full length. Allusions to it are made by Burnet, Vol. I. p. 154, Baillie, Vol. II. p. 451, and by the authors of Naphtali, p. 145. The letter was dated the 10th of August 1660.

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1660. Sept. 20th Sept.

burgh, in obedience to the King's injunction, sent it to all their brethren; and in a humble address, signified to his Majesty, how much his letter had revived their spirits, and excited them to bless the Lord, who had put and continued such a purpose in his royal heart, to preserve and protect the government of the church without violation. *

Yet plain as the King's declaration was, there can be no doubt, that they who advised him to make it, had determined that presbytery should be subverted, and took this step to hasten and facilitate the subversion. Sharp composed the letter; and, when the Earl of Middleton, who was appointed to open the parliament in Scotland as his Majesty's commissioner, first read it, he was amazed, and reproached Sharp for having abandoned and destroyed the design of introducing episcopacy, to which he had previously agreed. This crafty politician dissipated the apprehensions of Middleton, by explaining the motives by which he had been actuated, adding, that whilst the declaration would keep the presbyterians quiet, it laid his Majesty under no obligation, because, as he bound himself to support the ecclesiastical government settled by law, parliament had only thus to settle episcopacy, to transfer to it the pledge of the monarch. Even Middleton, loose as his morals were, was shocked with such disingenuity, and honestly answered, that the thing

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 14, 15.

might be done, but that for his share, he did not love the way, which made his Majesty's first appearance in Scotland to be in a cheat.* CHAP. XXII. 1660. Sept.

The King was certainly at first reluctant to alter the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland; but the persuasion of his courtiers soon changed his sentiments. † If this change had taken place before he subscribed the letter, it is impossible too strongly to condemn the part which he acted, for he displayed a hypocrisy which degrades him as a man, which must have excited contempt for him as a Sovereign, and which openly shewed, that, in his promises, no one, however attached to his government, could for a moment confide. If the change was posterior to his declaration, although he will thus be acquitted of the villany which, upon the other supposition, must attach to him, his speedy determination to violate what, under all circumstances, he should have considered as peculiarly sacred, evidenced a fickleness of mind, and a disregard of moral principle, which must have filled considerate men with gloomy anticipations of that vile tyranny which afterwards was introduced. ‡ The King resolves to change the ecclesiastical polity.

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 14. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 155.

† Continuation of Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 105—107.

‡ Baillie, who was eager to see every thing in the most favourable light, speaking, Vol. II. p. 451, of what happened after the letter, justly observes, "We know not now what to say, who desire most gladly to get any true ground of apologizing for all the King's and the states's actions."

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1661. Meeting of Parliament. 1st Jan.

Parliament, which had been prorogued till the first of January, met at Edinburgh; the Earl of Middleton having with much splendour come from London to open that assembly. The great objects which were to be accomplished, were the establishment of despotism, and of episcopacy. With the most lamentable departure from the principles of the covenanters, principles which they indeed often pushed to extremes, but which can never be abandoned without surrendering the liberty of nations, Charles was invested with arbitrary power,—no limitation of his authority was proposed,—and oaths and declarations of allegiance were ordered to be universally tendered, which it must have been disgusting to every sincere patriot even to peruse. It belongs not to this history, which must now rapidly advance to its conclusion, to mention the various acts which placed the throne upon the ruin of freedom; it must be confined to the changes destined to be introduced into the state of religion.

Act rescissory.

The way for the subversion of presbytery was prepared by one of the most extraordinary and unprincipled statutes which was ever sanctioned by a legislative Assembly. The presbyterian discipline was so interwoven with the laws, and the sanction given to it by Charles the first had been so explicit, that there was considerable difficulty in devising a mode of setting it aside. Had it been at once declared that it was to be abolished, the most alarming convulsions might have been apprehended. It

was at length resolved, and resolved amidst the riot and debauchery which disgraced those to whom the King had entrusted the settlement of the nation, that all the parliaments held since the year 1640, should be declared null and void, thus rendering invalid those acts in confirmation of presbytery as the established religion, to which the late King had assented. When this intention became public, it filled all, and particularly the ministers, with astonishment and regret. The presbytery of Edinburgh immediately met, and petitioned the commissioner and the estates, that a new act should be passed for establishing religion and church-government, as they were informed that the acts presently in force were to be rescinded; and, when this was unavailing, they wrote to the Earl of Lauderdale, soliciting that he would endeavour to induce the King to stop the measures in agitation, sending, at the same time, for the inspection of his Majesty, a paper, in which they dwelt upon his positive assurances to support presbytery. They also prayed that a General Assembly might be called, and stated what was unquestionably true, although Sharp and his adherents were labouring to disguise it, that the great majority of the nation were hostile to the introduction of episcopacy, being engaged against it by their oath to God. *

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* Wodrow's Hist. Vol. I. p. 33—37. Burnet's Hist. Vol. I. p. 167—170. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 450. Naph-

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The act rescissory, as it was called, was vehemently opposed. It was urged, that to deny the validity of a parliament called by the Sovereign, honoured by his presence, and the statutes of which were sanctioned by his authority, was to overthrow all government, to destroy security, and to render law not a permanent rule to guide the subjects, but the varying expression of the views of successive parliaments which might be diametrically opposite to each other. It was farther represented, that this struck at the prerogative itself, as it held forth the last King in a light, in which it was painful to behold him, and was calculated to destroy that reverence for sovereignty, which it was desirable to cherish. With strange irregularity, Middleton took part in the debate, and with much vehemence, insisted, that, although the late King had held the parliaments to which the act referred, he was virtually under restraint, the calamitous state of his affairs in England having led him to approve, what, under other circumstances, he would have condemned. This plea, resting upon the dangerous position, that every statute inconsistent with the private and arbitrary principles of a Sovereign, was of no force, satisfied the men who had so lately

tali, p. 153. Hind let Loose, p. 125. A Short Memorial, &c. p. 2, 3. in which feelings of indignation at the conduct of parliament are strongly, but admirably expressed.

strenuously contended in the cause of liberty; for, by a great majority, the act was passed. *

1661. Jan. Effects of it.

By this statute, the foundations of the presbyterian polity were completely destroyed; it ceased to be the law of the land, and the religion sanctioned by the last recognized parliament was held to be still in existence, or, in other words, episcopacy now claimed the support of the legislature and of the King. The covenant had, by a previous act, been forbidden to be enforced, which was justly considered as a gentle way of setting it aside, and a subsequent statute fully shewed the fate which awaited presbytery. By this act, entitled an "Act concerning Religion and Church-government," it was declared to be his Majesty's resolution, to maintain the true protestant religion in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within this kingdom, during the reigns of his royal father and grand-father of blessed memory; and as to the government of the church, it was enacted, that he would make it his care to settle and secure the same, in such a frame as should be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom; but that, in the mean time, he did allow the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods, and that notwithstanding the

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. p. 167—169. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 451.

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preceding act rescissory of all pretended parliaments. The import of this declaration, the most sanguine presbyterian could not mistake. It was a plain avowal that a revolution was to take place in the church,—a revolution, founded upon the King's breach of oaths and voluntary pledges, and necessarily associated with that subversion of liberty, which was regarded by all honest patriots with undisguised abhorrence. The feelings and sentiments of the nation were also shocked, by the appointment of an anniversary thanksgiving for his Majesty's restoration, because the people were required, in the service of that day, to condemn all the measures which, for many previous years, they had zealously and conscientiously promoted. *

Several acts were, at the suggestion of the presbytery of Edinburgh, passed, enforcing the regular observance of the Sabbath, restraining the practices of swearing and of excessive drinking, and preventing the cursing and beating of parents, titles which painfully evince the moral degeneracy which extensively prevailed. With the statutes themselves, most men could not fail to be gratified; but the effect of them was unfortunately, in a great degree, defeated by the profligacy of those by whom they were framed. These men unblushingly indulged in every species of licentiousness, and even Middle-

* Acts of first parliament of Charles II. Naphtali, p. 153, 154. Short Memorial, &c. p. 3. Hind let Loose, p. 176. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 172, 173.

ton, the representative of his Sovereign, often appeared in parliament in a state of intoxication. No effect of the restoration was more deplorable than the profaneness and immorality which it introduced into Britain. Men ran, from excesses of hypocrisy and austerity, to a daring contempt of all sound principle,—contempt which debased the national character, and prepared the community for that yoke of oppression which never sits so easily as when virtue has been weakened or destroyed. *

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During the continuance of this parliament, the various synods of Scotland were, as usual, assembled, and many of them viewing, with alarm, the dangers which threatened the ecclesiastical constitution, prepared petitions for its confirmation; but they were violently interrupted by noblemen sent to arrest their proceedings, and were prevented from constitutionally expressing what it was their duty to represent to the legislature. †

Synods interrupted.

The melancholy feelings, excited by these invasions of liberty, were strengthened by the fate of

Apprehension, trial, and execu-

* Printed Acts of Parliament. Clarendon, in his continuation of his History, Vol. II. p. 39. has given a striking picture of the wickedness occasioned by the civil wars. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 447. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 161, 162, and 164. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 20. and 33. One of the acts which the Presbytery solicited, was entitled an act against consulters with devils and familiar spirits, and witches,—which shews that the belief of witchcraft was strong at this period.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 37—40. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 450. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 171, 172.

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the Marquis of Argyll. Of the prominent part which he acted in the late troubles, an ample account has been already given. Warmly attached to presbytery, and to civil liberty, he had uniformly acted with the ministers, who so zealously contended for both; and although he restrained the excesses of the protesters, and was instrumental in procuring the recall of the King after his father's death, it cannot be doubted, that he would have preferred what he considered as essential for the preservation of freedom, to any service to the King, by which it was endangered. After Charles left Britain, he conformed to Cromwell, and sat in the English parliament as a representative from Scotland. Upon the Restoration, he was solicited to go to London; and he did so, notwithstanding the fears of some of his friends, that his enemies had injured him in the estimation of the King. Having come to Whitehall, he was arrested before he reached the royal presence; and, after a rigorous confinement in the Tower, he was sent down to Edinburgh to be tried as a traitor. Every principle of sound policy should have prevented this exercise of power. Argyll was highly esteemed in Scotland; he was in possession of an indemnity for the whole of his public conduct, previous to the coronation; and although he had submitted to a government resistance to which appeared to be hopeless, he had given unquestionable evidence that he was earnestly desirous to support the King. Had he been at once

1661. Jan. tion of the Marquis of Argyll.

8th July.

Dec.

pardoned, there can be no doubt that the effect would have been in a high degree advantageous to Charles, and that Argyll would have with gratitude repaid the obligation. But it was dreaded that his spirit could not be bowed down under the severity of despotism; and it was resolved publicly to execute him, although he had been guilty of nothing which should have particularly marked him out as an object of vengeance. It is unnecessary to detail the particulars of a trial, conducted before men who had predetermined its issue; unnecessary to advert to the base conduct of Monk, who produced confidential letters of the prisoner, to prevent the possibility of acquittal; a fact which has been disputed indeed, but which rests on sufficient evidence. * 1661.

Argyll was sentenced to be beheaded; and only a short time was allowed to him to arrange his worldly affairs, and to prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God. Though naturally timid, he conducted himself previous to his death with affecting intrepidity; he was strengthened by his faith in religion; after momentary compliance, he rejected a proposal for his escape, and upon the appointed 27th May.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 6. and book i. chap. 1. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 451—453. Baillie mentions that Monk sent down the letters, and thus confirms Burnet. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 174—180. Short Memorial, p. 4. Naphtali, p. 155. The last speech of Argyll is annexed to that work, p. 245—250. Clarendon's Continuation of his History, Vol. II. p. 98—101, and p. 403, 404.

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day he ascended the scaffold. He addressed the people, blessed the King and his family, and, after praying twice, he laid his head on the block, and, by one stroke of the executioner, was removed from the world. His head was placed where that of Montrose had been exhibited. This outrage to humanity softened even his enemies; and it deserves to be mentioned, that, in an age of faction, none exulted over his execution. His body was removed by his affectionate and disconsolate friends, and deposited with the ashes of his illustrious ancestors. *

1661. 27th May.

Trial and death of James Guthrie.

The trial of James Guthrie, one of the most popular of the ministers, next attracted the notice of the people. This bold and zealous man had distinguished himself by the warmth with which he opposed the resolutions in favour of the King; he was the leader of the protesters, and had, in the violence of party-spirit, published and defended doctrines subversive of all government. When he was summoned before the King for his seditious discourses, he defied the royal authority, and identified his defiance with a just regard to the sovereignty of Christ. That he had exposed himself to the most severe sentence, can scarcely now be doubted; but he had in part atoned for his vexatious enmity to his Majesty, by the steadiness with which

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 452. Wodrow's Hist. Vol. I. p. 56.

he had resisted the usurpation; and the esteem in which he was held, would have rendered the extension of mercy to him a popular act, strengthening the throne much more effectually than his condemnation. It was, however, judged proper to proceed against him; and the private antipathy of Middleton, whom, at a former period, he had excommunicated, made that nobleman indecently solicitous to secure his destruction. When placed at the bar, he did not disown the tenets which, in more prosperous times, he had vehemently supported; he defended all which he had done; he gloried in the remonstrance, the protestation, and a work which he had entitled the "Causes of God's Wrath;" and maintained, that it was the privilege of a servant of Christ to deliver, without fear, from the pulpit, what he believed to be conducive to the promotion of religious truth, although he thus offended the magistrate, and vilified the government. This kind of defence aggravated the charge against him, and afforded a handle for condemning that ecclesiastical constitution, under which such conduct as his was represented by him as justified. He was accordingly found guilty; and he prepared for his dissolution with that heroism which has been so often displayed by men suffering for opinions, which they believed to be sanctioned by the Supreme Being. He ascended the scaffold with the utmost serenity of countenance; addressed the people with a composure, indicating his fortitude and his hope; jus-

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1661. 1st June.

tified all for which he was to die; and expatiated upon the covenant, to which he advised the spectators firmly to adhere. He was then, in terms of his sentence, executed as if he had been the lowest malefactor. *

With his execution the parliament was so far satisfied, that no other minister suffered death. A few were banished, but many were permitted, without molestation, to continue in the country. † Johnston of Warriston, who had been a strenuous supporter of the antimonarchical faction, was early marked out for punishment, but knowing what awaited him, he made his escape, and thus, for some time, avoided the fate of Guthrie and of Argyll. ‡

The parliament prorogued, and episcopacy introduced.

The important arrangements which had occupied the attention of parliament having been completed, that assembly was prorogued from the 10th of

* Wodrow's History Vol. I. book i. chap. 2. and section 4th. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 453. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 180, 181. He mentions that he was present when Guthrie suffered. Clarendon's Continuation of his History, Vol. II. p. 404. Trail's MS. Diary.—Trail says, that Argyll and Guthrie sealed with their blood the controverted truths of the kirk. Short Memorial, &c. p. 4.—The writer of this work says, that Guthrie suffered for asserting the kingly prerogative of Christ, in opposition to the Erastian supremacy encroaching thereon. Naphtali, p. 154.—To this work the last speech of Guthrie is added, p. 250—259. It is also in Wodrow's Appendix, No. 22. Hind let Loose, p. 125.

† Wodrow, Vol. I. Chap. ii. Sect. 5. Baillie, Vol. II. p. 453, 454.

‡ Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 6. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 182. Burnet was the nephew of Warriston.

July till the following March. This prorogation was contemplated with well-founded anxiety by the presbyterians, because they apprehended that measures would now be taken for introducing episcopacy, which they plainly discerned to be favoured by the government. * The Earls of Middleton and Glencairn, soon after the adjournment, hastened to London to receive thanks for the services which they had rendered to the King. Sharp accompanied them, eager to carry into effect the ecclesiastical innovations in which he was so deeply interested, although, with his accustomed dissimulation, he had professed to his old friends, from whom he had not yet openly separated, that he was to use all efforts to get presbytery established upon a new and sure foundation, the recissory act having happily, as he stated, destroyed the alliance between it and the rebellious proceedings which were now universally deplored. The subject of the re-establishment of episcopacy was soon taken into consideration by the council for Scotish affairs. Glencairn, Middleton, and Sharp, earnestly advised that the change should immediately take place, representing that the country was not averse to it; that the synod of Aberdeen had almost expressly petitioned for it; and that the protesters alone would oppose it. Nothing could more clearly evince their disingenuity. It was impossible that they could be ig-

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* Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 455.

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1661. 10th June.

norant of the real sentiments of the people of Scotland. They knew that they had by force prevented different synods from expressing their sentiments; they knew that the King's proclamation, issued before the rising of parliament, had prohibited all petitions respecting religion, and that, had freedom of representation been permitted, few would have declared in favour of any alteration in ecclesiastical polity. Lauderdale adhered to the opinion which he had before delivered, advising the King not to make a change, which would turn from him the affections of his subjects, and prevent him from obtaining that command of Scotland which he should strive to possess. Crawford, and the Duke of Hamilton, supported Lauderdale; and the King, shrinking from the idea of new commotion, or influenced by the hope of more firmly establishing his throne, was inclined to acquiesce in what they had urged; but the rest of the Scotish ministers, aided by Sharp, the Earl of Clarendon, and the Duke of Ormond, led him to alter his opinion, and when this was intimated, all opposition was withdrawn. * The result of the deliberations was, that a letter should be sent to the council in Scotland, conveying his Majesty's resolution to introduce episcopacy, and commanding that the proper steps for

* Baillie, Vol. II. p. 457 and 459, compared with Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 170, 171, and p. 187—189. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 92 and 96. Appendix to Vol. I. No. xxiv. p. 48.

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1661. 31st Aug. 5th Sept.

that purpose should be immediately taken. This letter was brought from London by the Chancellor, the Earl of Rothes, and Sharp, and, on the next council-day, it was read. In it, the King endeavoured to evade the promise in his declaration to presbyteries, not to alter the church-government established by law; and he then proceeded to state, that, from his respect to the glory of God, and the good and interest of the protestant religion; from his pious care and princely zeal for the order, unity, peace, and stability of that church, and its better harmony with the government of the churches of England and Ireland, he had, after mature deliberation, declared to his council at London, his firm resolution to interpose his royal authority for restoring of the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, and as it now stands settled by law; and he required that his intention should be announced in such a manner as might render it most effectual. He concluded, by ordering the council to prohibit the assembling of ministers in their several synodical assemblies through the kingdom, until he had better signified his pleasure, and to keep a watchful eye over all who, upon any pretext whatever, endeavoured by discoursing, preaching, reviling, or any irregular or unlawful way, to alienate the affections of his subjects, or dispose them to an ill opinion of him and his government; thus shewing, that they who urged the restoration of

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episcopacy, were abundantly sensible that they were thwarting the inclinations and the principles of the great part of the people.* This mandate, proceeding upon the supposition that the act of the last parliament had vested the King with the power of altering the religion of Scotland, was heard by those to whom it was addressed with implicit acquiescence, the Earl of Lauderdale alone vainly recommending, that the state of public opinion should be ascertained before announcing so important a change. A proclamation, in terms of the letter, was immediately published, and an address was sent to his Majesty, informing him of their obedience, praising his piety, and his concern for the protestant religion, and declaring their hope, that his good subjects would submit to his pleasure; but assuring him of their readiness to carry his commands into execution. They lost no time in acting upon the instructions which they had received, for having heard that the presbytery of Peebles was about to ordain a minister, they prohibited them from proceeding, because the right of ordination belonged to the archbishop of Glasgow, within whose diocese the church to be supplied was; and when the presbytery paid to this no attention, the members

6th Sept.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 96, 97, where the King's letter, dated August 14th, is inserted at full length. Burnet, in the History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 189, says, that the King asked the advice of the council, but this does not seem to have been the case. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 459.

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who were present at the admission were summoned to answer for their conduct, under pain of being considered as guilty of rebellion. *

16th Dec. Bishops appointed and consecrated.

The foundation of prelacy having thus been laid, the persons to be nominated bishops were selected. The primacy was conferred on Sharp, who endeavoured to persuade his brethren, that he had accepted this high office, to prevent it from being filled by one who might act with violence against the presbyterians; and the inferior sees were given to such men as it was believed would cordially promote the designs of the court. A difficulty, however, now occurred. Of the former Scotish bishops, Sydserfe alone remained, and although he was reappointed, yet he could not consecrate the new prelates. A commission was accordingly issued to the bishops of London and Worcester, and to some suffragans of the diocese of Canterbury, requiring them to consecrate a certain number of the Scotish bishops; and Sharp, Fairfoul, and Hamilton, came to London, where they were joined by Leighton, to receive the episcopal character. The English prelates insisted that Sharp, and the other three, should go through all the inferior degrees or orders, as presbyterian ordination was not valid. To this Sharp objected, and he urged against it what had happened in the case of Spottiswoode.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 99, 100. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 189.

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His opposition, however, was unavailing; and he was too much fascinated with the charms of the primacy, to renounce them, from reverence to a church which he had deserted and betrayed. The ceremony was performed in Westminster Abbey, and was followed by an excess of festivity which shocked Leighton, whose views of his office were different from those of the men with whom he had been associated. But although Sharp relinquished his opinion in England, he adhered to it in Scotland; for he did not insist that the ministers who conformed should be again ordained. *

Presbyteries prohibited from meeting. Jan.

When the Church of Scotland was thus furnished with bishops, it was judged proper to act decidedly against presbytery. A letter, in name of the King, subcribed by Lauderdale, who had now fully complied with the measures which he had at first resisted, was sent to the council, in which his Majesty informed them, that his allowance of the administration of the Church of Scotland, as it had been since the violent interruption of episcopacy, was of no further force or continuance, and commanding them to discharge, by proclamation, all ecclesiastical meetings in synods and presbyteries, till these meetings should be authorized by

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 100—103. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 191, 192, and 201, 202. Baillie's Letters, Vol. II. p. 459, 460. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 887. Continuation of Clarendon's History, Vol. II. p. 405, 406.

the archbishops and bishops, who were speedily to enter upon the government of their respective sees. A proclamation to this effect was accordingly issued, and we may consider the presbyterian discipline as from this period suspended. * In all the declarations published by the authority of the court, it had been stated that episcopacy was to be restored, as it had existed in the time of James, and of Charles the First. This, however, was not the case, for there was a most important distinction between the present polity and that which had then been established. During the period through which bishops were formerly recognized, they were regarded only as the constant moderators of the different ecclesiastical judicatories; these judicatories regularly assembled, and conducted much of the business of the church. The idea, that they entirely depended upon the bishops, was never introduced, or was steadily resisted; and great efforts were requisite to procure their sanction to the privileges which were claimed for the prelates. But Charles, by the exertion of his prerogative, without the slightest regard to the wishes of the church, and indeed without preserving even the appearance of consulting it, introduced episcopacy in a form from which his ancestors would have shrunk; and gave to bishops the power of deciding whether presbyteries

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* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 110, 111. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 887.

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should be held at all, or of limiting the extent of their jurisdiction. This, even with a view to the object which it was intended to promote, was most unwise; for it increased antipathy which should have been removed, and weakened the respectability and the influence of the prelates, by exhibiting them as in direct opposition to what was most dear to the great body of the people. *

The bishops arrive in Scotland, and consecrate other prelates. April.

Sharp, and the three other bishops, who had been consecrated in London, at length set out for Scotland. Leighton, who abhorred all pomp and ostentation, having been informed of the manner in which they were to be welcomed, left them on their journey. Upon their arrival, they were received by the chancellor, the nobility, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, with a degree of splendour which even wise episcopalians regretted, and which presented a striking and not very edifying contrast to the humble appearance of the presbyterian clergy. The two archbishops, in the magnificent dress of their order, consecrated bishops for the different sees; the see of Edinburgh only being kept vacant, in the hope that Douglas, one of the most venerable and respected of the ministers, would be induced to accept of it, and to strengthen the new establishment by his talents and his virtues. †

7th May.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 203—205, and 207, 208. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 112, 114, and 117, 118.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 205, 206. Baillie's

1662. Parliament, 8th May.

On the following day, the second session of the parliament commenced. An act was immediately passed for the restitution of the ancient government of the church, by archbishops and bishops. It vested in the prelates the exercise of the episcopal function, gave to them presidency in the church, and the power of ordination and of inflicting censures, in which they were to take the advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they should find to be of known loyalty and prudence, or, in other words, completely subservient to themselves. All the statutes in favour of episcopacy were renewed, and those sanctioning presbytery, particularly the celebrated act of fifteen hundred and ninety-two, were rescinded. When this legislative measure, so deeply affecting the political, the moral, and the religious state of the kingdom, and so directly in opposition to all for which the nation had during the late struggles contended, had, without the slightest discussion, and with only one dissenting voice, been approved by the estates, the commissioner proposed, that, as the order of bishops had now been happily restored, they should, by a deputation of parliament, be invited to resume their places in that assembly. This was ordered, and when they appeared, they were welcomed with every testimony of

Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 460, 461. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 114. Continuation of Clarendon's History, Vol. II. p. 414.

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respect, as one of the branches of the legislature.* The hierarchy may now be considered as fully introduced; but, before proceeding to detail the manner in which ecclesiastical affairs were administered, a few remarks must be made, to throw light upon the feelings of the people, and upon the events which afterwards took place.

Remarks suggested by the mode in which episcopacy was established.

Episcopacy, when viewed in itself, must, by impartial men, be admitted to be well adapted to answer the great purposes for which church-government has been instituted; it is venerable for its antiquity, and experience has shewn, that it is perfectly consistent with the prevalence of civil liberty. In Scotland, however, its advocates acted so incautiously, and events not easily controlled, exhibited it in a light so unfavourable, that the strongest prejudices against it were early formed, and have been incorporated with the religious principles of the great majority of the community. When it was first introduced, it was considered as an innovation upon the system, endeared by being coëval with the blessings of the Reformation, and by originating with Knox, who had accomplished emancipation from popish superstition; and it afterwards came to be regarded as an instrument in the hands of

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, under first Parliament of Charles II. p. 69—71. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 114—118. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 206—208. Short Memorial, &c. p. 4. Naphtali, p. 155—157. Hind let Loose, p. 127, 128. The author of this work says, they began to build their Babel.

the monarch, for enlarging his own authority, and leading back his people to the errors from which they had been delivered. It was soon supplanted by men eminent for the zeal and success with which they inculcated the great doctrines of revelation, and opposed every shade of popery, and who substituted a polity admirably adapted to gain the admiration, and to interest the feelings of those by whom it was acknowledged. This polity was identified with political freedom, and was believed to be essential for securing the most valuable temporal, as well as spiritual advantages. The troubles which clouded the latter years of the reign of Charles the First, and the Solemn League and Covenant which arose out of those troubles, cast, in the estimation of the multitude, a peculiar sanctity around presbytery, and would have rendered the most judicious efforts to introduce a different form of ecclesiastical discipline, whatever had been its intrinsic excellence, unable at once to reconcile that discipline to the faith of the nation.

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But the detail which has been given, places it beyond a doubt, that even although the previous bias against episcopacy had been much less than it was, the people must have been shocked with a change, accompanied by what, as men and as Christians, must have excited their abhorrence. The sovereign who now new-modelled the church, had, by the most solemn oaths, pledged himself not to do so; had declared that presbytery should be in-

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violate, and that he rejoiced in being called to support it. The plea of necessity might, in the view of subjects returning to the loyal maxims from which they had departed, have weakened the obligation of what a good mind would not have dared to disregard; but even after he was seated on the throne of Britain, he had voluntarily promised that he would defend the established religion of Scotland, and confirm the decrees of those Assemblies by which it had been strengthened. In the face then of all which a man of honour should have revered, he had restored prelacy, and even rendered it more obnoxious than it had formerly been; it was thus associated with a breach of integrity in the sovereign, which would have degraded the meanest of his people, and it appeared polluted by the contamination of an unprincipled monarch. This, however, might have proved, as it ought to have done, only momentary; but its effect was increased from the polity not having been sanctioned by the authority of the church. It was, in fact, ushered in by a mere exercise of the royal prerogative; and it hence carried with it to men, yet glowing with the love of freedom, the melancholy and heart-rending reflection, that the struggles for their civil rights had terminated in oppression.

They were also shocked by the manners of those who were employed to lay the foundation of the new establishment. They had been accustomed to a decency, and even an austerity, which, shrinking

from profaneness, and abhorring profligacy, was regarded as the natural result of that ecclesiastical system under which they had lived; and they revered a degree of self-denial, and of abstinence from the innocent enjoyments of life, which, though strenuously enforced by their ministers, the enlarged and beneficent spirit of Christianity does not require. The Earl of Middleton, and the courtiers who attended him, delighted to outrage all such notions. They openly indulged in the most brutal intemperance; they ridiculed the sanctity of deportment which, under the covenant, had been extensively spread through the kingdom; they were impious and profane, and being at the same time zealous for episcopacy, the moral indignation with which they were regarded, led to the conclusion, that no measures which they sanctioned, could tend to promote the interests, or to extend the influence of religion. 1662.

In one way only could these causes have been counteracted. Had the persons selected as bishops been venerable for their piety, and for the assiduity with which they had superintended the spiritual state of those whom they instructed, and had they combined with firm integrity, genuine patriotism, the people might, on account of the virtues of the prelates, have suspended their condemnation, and gradually relinquished their prejudices. With that infatuation, however, which marked the whole of this ecclesiastical revolution, the choice of bishops

CHAP. XXII. 1660.

was such, as would have estranged every conscientious man from the church over which they presided, or at least have tended to destroy the reverence with which he would else have contemplated its arrangements. The primacy was conferred on Sharp, who had openly betrayed his trust,—who had often acted with the vilest hypocrisy,—who, during the usurpation, had bowed the knee to Cromwell, and abjured the family to which he now professed the most fervent loyalty. His private manners were not pure, and he had been charged with religious indifference. Could honourable minds, biassed as they were, at once detach the profligacy of this man from the polity which exalted him; could they fail to think that the whole scheme had every object more in view, than the advancement of holiness and virtue? It is vain to allege that what is right should not be condemned, because what is wrong is connected with it; the Sovereign and his courtiers should have known enough of human nature to discern, that, by rewarding dissimulation, they weakened the cause which they were labouring to support. The other prelates either were men who had taken the covenant, and even warmly defended it, or they were vicious or contemptible. One exception, however, it is delightful to record. The see of Dunblane was offered to Robert Leighton, who, conscientiously attached to episcopacy, modestly accepted the appointment. He was possessed of the most amiable dispositions, and the warm-

est piety, whilst his talents and acquirements, his moderate views, and his enlarged sentiments, justly raised him very high in the estimation of the wise and the good. Yet even his virtues tended to increase disaffection to the new establishment. Shocked with the sentiments and habits of his brethren, he associated little with them; and he did not hesitate openly to express his opinion with regard to them. After his consecration, he suggested to the primate the wisdom of conciliating the presbyterians, and the duty of endeavouring to raise men to a higher sense of piety, but Sharp listened with indifference; and this venerable prelate, who, had he been joined with men like himself, might have given a different direction to the public mind, and disseminated his own favourite maxim, that to render religion efficacious, is of much more importance than to dispute about ecclesiastical government, lost all heart and hope, and often said to Burnet, whom he honoured with his friendship, "That, satisfied as he was in his own mind, as to episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men who should build up his church."*

From these observations the candid reader will perceive, that episcopacy in Scotland never was ex-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 101, 102, and 116—118. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. II. p. 459. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 162, 170—172, 191—200 and 206—208. Short Memorial, p. 4, 5. Naphtali, p. 157.

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hibited as its sincere friends would have wished it to be beheld, and that it was so involved with what was improper or wrong, that the people, circumstanced as they were, would have acted against the strongest principles of our nature, had they cordially adopted it. If the case had been reversed, if episcopacy had been the religion of the nation, and presbytery had been forced upon it as prelacy was, the presbyterian polity would have been equally obnoxious as the episcopal; it cannot, therefore, be wondered, that the act of parliament, establishing prelacy, was viewed with disapprobation, not only by those who identified presbytery with Christianity, but even by moderate men who approved of the form which was introduced. Burnet, with much candour, acknowledges, that, with a great deal of what was done, he was dissatisfied; that he considered the high tone which was assumed in defining the privileges of bishops as most unwise; and he thus delivers his opinion with respect to many of the other circumstances which have now been stated:—"He who had the greatest hand in the change, proceeded with so much dissimulation, and the rest of the order were so mean and so selfish, and the Earl of Middleton, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion, to see it managed by such instruments." This declaration, so honourable to the fairness of him who made it, ought to be kept,

in mind at this interesting period. It shews what were the sentiments of a great party who, like him, venerated episcopacy; and it seems to place, beyond a doubt, what the train of events cannot fail to suggest, that the resistance made to the destruction of presbytery, was a resistance founded on right principles, a resistance which upright and independent men who admired that polity, could not, without relinquishing their duty, have hesitated to make.

It has thus appeared, that, hitherto the schemes of the court, with regard to the church, were ill contrived and unhappily executed; it remains to be discovered, whether the original error was attempted to be corrected, or whether new abuses and more violent oppression were employed, to exasperate those, whom every just view of policy, and every humane suggestion of religion, should have induced the government to sooth and to tolerate.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THIRD.

Act of Parliament in support of Episcopacy.....Declaration....Ministers required to acknowledge the authority of Bishops....Severity shewn to those who refused....Ministers ejected....Proceedings against the Ministers of Edinburgh, and other eminent Ministers....Character of the Episcopal Clergy....Political changes....Parliament meets, and orders the execution of Warriston...Its Acts respecting Episcopacy....General persecution of the Presbyterians commenced....Glencairn, the Chancellor, averse from severity....High Commission-Court established....Remarks upon its constitution....Its cruelty....It is abolished....Military oppression....Insurrection....It is quelled at Pentland....Inhuman treatment of the prisoners who were taken after the battle....Sufferings of M'Kail and Neilson....Conduct of Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow....Military and civil tyranny....It is viewed with abhorrence.

CHAP. XXIII. 1660. Act of Parliament in support of episcopacy.

THE act, re-establishing episcopacy, was strengthened by another, entitled, for the preservation of his Majesty's person, authority, and government. In this statute the covenants were condemned, because they were in themselves unlawful oaths, and because they had been imposed against the fundamental laws of the kingdom; the Assembly held at

Glasgow, in sixteen hundred and thirty-eight, was branded as a seditious meeting; and, with total contempt for the justest rights of the people, it was ordained, that if any person should, by writing, printing, praying, preaching, libelling, remonstrating, or by any malicious and advised speaking, express, publish, or declare any words or sentences, to stir up hatred or dislike of his Majesty's royal prerogative and supremacy, in causes ecclesiastical, or of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as it was settled by law, he should, upon conviction, become incapable of holding any place, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, and should be liable to such other punishment as might be denounced. * By this statute, liberty was in a great degree destroyed, because no method could be adopted for preserving it, or for complaining of the grievances which the community might wish to be redressed. Nothing can more decisively shew, that the changes which had been made in the church, were in opposition to the wishes of the great majority of the people. Had this not been the case, prelacy would have gained strength, by all being permitted to publish their sentiments with regard to it; it is only when the goodness of a cause is suspected, even by

1662.

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, under 1st Parliament of Charles II. p. 71, 72. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 118, 119, and Appendix, No. 29. Naphtali, p. 160.

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its friends, that such jealousy of popular opinion, as was now expressed, is entertained.

1662 Declaration.

But to wrest from the covenanters, however desirous they might now be to submit to government, the situations which they filled, or to bar them from those to which they aspired, a declaration was framed, which every man was required to make, before he could be admitted to any place of trust. It was in these terms:—"I do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the King, or those commissioned by him; and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping of counsel tables, that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious: And particularly, that these oaths, whereof the one was commonly called the national covenant, (as it was sworn and explained in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight, and thereafter) and the other, entitled a solemn league and covenant, were, and are in themselves, unlawful oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation upon me or any of the subjects, from the said oaths or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the go-

vernment, either of church or state, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom." *

As a political document, this declaration almost avows non-resistance and passive obedience; for the King might employ instruments to accomplish any purpose, and these instruments, it was affirmed to be unlawful to oppose. Bearing upon the ecclesiastical state of the kingdom, as it was intended to do, it endeavoured to strengthen prelacy by what, whilst it must have shocked every virtuous mind, really gave to that form of polity no security. When it is recollected in what manner the covenant was subscribed, that the subscription was a religious act, accompanied with whatever could deeply impress those who affixed it, it is evident, that, to require the persons who had done so, to trample upon their engagement, was to require them to condemn what they considered as sacred, and to make light of an oath which they had taken with the most awful veneration. Could it be supposed, that conscientious and religious men would, for any emolument, thus plunge themselves in guilt; and could it be forgotten, that they who did not shrink from this, could be held by no tie, and could be attached by no principle? The effect upon public morals was also deplorable. It staggered the uprightness of the well-disposed part of the community, whilst it af-

* Acts of First Parliament of Charles II. p. 74. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 120. Short Memorial, &c. p. 6.

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forded too much reason for asserting that integrity was only a name; and that the prelates, and they who renounced what they had lately with much zeal inculcated, gave practical proof that they considered religion merely as a step to the gratification of avarice or of ambition. In a dissolute age this was eagerly seized, as justifying or excusing the profaneness which the Restoration unhappily introduced; and thus episcopacy continued to be associated with that relaxation of moral and religious principle, which it has so often and so successfully counteracted. Had the court been satisfied with requiring a pledge of loyalty, which all men would have readily given, or had it even insisted that the established religion should not be assailed, all the ends which it should have had in view, would have been gradually and quietly secured; the affections of the people might have been gained; and if prelacy was, after this, found to be still odious to them, presbytery might, without unhinging the government, have been restored. *

Ministers required in the Act restoring patronage to acknowledge the authority of bishops.

But it was not expected that the ecclesiastical arrangements would become acceptable to the nation, unless the ministers were prevented from inflaming their hearers against these arrangements; and to effectuate this, an act was passed, which laid the foundation for those cruel sufferings to which many of these pious men were afterwards subjected.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 121.

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In the year sixteen hundred and forty-nine, patronages had been abolished, and the choice of ministers vested in the inhabitants of the different parishes. The present parliament not only restored to patrons the rights of which they had been deprived, but enacted, that all ministers who had been inducted without their appointment, had no legal title to their benefices. With apparent tenderness, however, it was added, that all pastors who should obtain presentations from the patrons, should be continued in their livings, if they were collated by the bishops of their respective dioceses; and patrons were required to present such incumbents as might apply to them before the month of September. Whatever were the sentiments of the presbyterians respecting patronage, it is not probable that they would have hesitated about applying to the patrons, had this been all which was required; but the design of the act was to extort from them an acknowledgement of the spiritual powers of the bishops, and, by making them receive from the prelates a title to their benefices, to identify their interest with the support of the new establishment. An act was also passed for filling universities with professors attached to episcopacy, and for thus giving to it all the influence which could be derived from conjoining veneration for it with the progress of education and knowledge. *

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament under second session of first Parliament of Charles II. p. 72—74. Burnet's History of his

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1662. Severity shewn to those who refused.

The statute relating to patronages, and to the mode in which the ministers should be permitted to retain their situations, violated the most obvious principles of equity. The clergy admitted since the rights of patrons had been taken away, obtained their benefices in terms of law, they were therefore either entitled to possess them, notwithstanding any new act, or, if it was judged expedient to introduce men of different principles, they should have been indemnified for the loss, which, by an unexpected revolution, they had sustained. In some parts of the country, they either complied with the statute, or the moderation of the prelates under whom they lived connived at their neglect of it; but the great body of the presbyterians shrunk from receiving collation, as a recognition of that abhorred prelacy which they had sworn to exterminate. In the south and west of Scotland, it was almost universally resolved to disobey, but to continue the exercise of their functions as long as they were permitted to do so, and, when they were required to comply, at once to cease from the discharge of their pastoral duties. The archbishop of Glasgow found in his province the most determined resistance to episcopacy; almost none of the ministers complied, and the time specified for compliance having elapsed, he represented the necessi-

own Times, Vol. I. p. 220, 221. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 119, 120, and Appendix, No. 30. Short Memorial, &c. p. 5. Naphtali, p. 160.

ty of adopting the most vigorous measures to overcome the obstinacy which had been so openly displayed. Middleton, eager to accomplish the full establishment of prelacy, and rendered more violent by the attempts which he knew were making to deprive him of the favour of the King, readily listened to the solicitations of the archbishop, and having summoned these members of the council by whom he was attended (for he was at this time in Glasgow), they took under their consideration as much as men perpetually intoxicated could do, what remedy for the evil should be applied. The result was, an act or order of council, exceeding in severity the statute which it was designed to enforce. It prohibited and discharged all ministers who had contravened the act of Parliament respecting benefices, from exercising any part of their pastoral function in their parishes; these parishes were declared to be vacant; and the late pastors were commanded to remove with their families before the first of November, without the bounds of their presbyteries. The people were also prohibited from attending on their ministry, under pain of being punished as frequenters of private conventicles and meetings. *

1662. Oct.

17th Oct.

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 124, 125. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 221—223. Short Memorial, &c. p. 5. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 462—464. I quote this writer, because such was the singular bias of his understanding, that he admired this act of council and the act of parliament to which

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1662. Ministers ejected.

It is probable that the council imagined that the severity of this act would so intimidate those against whom it was directed, that they would immediately submit; indeed, such men as those who framed it, blackened by vice, and perverted by irreligion, could not be supposed capable of anticipating, that adherence to principle would induce any great body of the clergy to expose themselves and their families to the horrors of poverty, and to the distress occasioned by banishment from the places in which they were revered, and to which they were united by ties, the force of which he must be hardened in insensibility who has not felt. To their amazement, however, and their disappointment, nearly three hundred ministers, rather than renounce their opinions, voluntarily resigned their livings, and complied with the cruel terms in which the order was conceived. The people were moved and irritated by the sufferings of their pastors; they lamented, that a large district of the country

it referred, as measures of extraordinary and unmerited clemency on the part of his Majesty. The act of council he indeed justifies by the acts of the asembly at Glasgow, observing, that the presbyterians, who had passed these acts, had no cause to complain. He might have recollected, that, even admitting the accuracy of his statement, the injustice of one body of men is no apology for that of another. I may just farther observe, that he represents the whole proceedings which have been already detailed, and which unhappily must yet be recorded, as entitled to our admiration; and to render his representation not absolutely shocking, he has passed over the establishment of the High Court of Commission, and the many acts of cruelty and oppression which disgraced its administration.

was thus deprived of religious instruction, and that to force upon Scotland a system of ecclesiastical polity, the nation was to be deprived of all the benefits which such a polity was instituted to communicate. The primate, who had not been consulted, saw the impolicy of what had been done; and although he shewed little anxiety to promote milder measures, he distinctly expressed his disapprobation, that he might throw from himself the odium which he had no doubt that proceedings so violent would excite. * CHAP. XXIII. 1662.

The evil, indeed, which followed was so great, that even they by whom it had been occasioned saw the necessity of attempting to counteract it. They accordingly passed a new act, which prolonged the time for receiving presentations and induction, trusting, that experience of the calamities which flowed from disobedience, would incline some to continue in their churches. In this, however, they were again disappointed; the presbyterians remained firm, and were even animated by the example which several of their brethren had set before them. † 23d Dec.

But the severity of government was not confined to one district of the kingdom. During the

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 223, 224. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 125, 126, and 154, 155. Short Memorial, &c. p. 5. Naphtali, p. 161, 162. Hind let Loose, p. 129.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 126, and Appendix to that work, No. 35.

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1662. 23d Dec. Proceedings against the ministers of Edinburgh, and other eminent ministers.

sitting of parliament, the ministers of Edinburgh who refused to conform, were discharged from their ministry, and were ordered by the council to leave the city; and many of the most eminent and popular ministers were afterwards summoned to the metropolis, were vexatiously detained, and were at length compelled to give security that they would banish themselves from the kingdom. Among this number was Livingstone, a man whose age, and whose moderation, should have secured him from molestation. He was, however, permitted to remain in Scotland for a short time to arrange his affairs, but Middleton cautioned him against keeping conventicles, or preaching in houses and churches before his departure. *

Character of the episcopal clergy.

The regret excited by the fate of pastors so much revered, was heightened by the characters of those who succeeded them in their parishes. The most strenuous exertions were used to prevail upon young men to receive orders, and to accept of benefices. Bishop Burnet, who was then only nineteen, was entreated to choose any living that was acceptable to him; but although he was attached to episcopacy, and although, from his period of

* Trail's MS. Diary. Trail was one of the ministers summoned and banished. Life of Livingstone, p. 36, and 41—44. He has preserved his examination by the Lord Chancellor, which was in the true spirit of the inquisition; and this interesting document, which throws much light upon the state of Scotland at the time to which I refer, has been published by Wodrow, in his History, Vol. I. See Book i. Chap. iii. and Sect. 5. for full information upon the subject.

life, he must have been much flattered by the attention and solicitations of the chancellor, who thought that he might be eminently useful, he declined compliance, assigning this reason, most honourable to his moderation and his integrity, "that he would not engage with a body of men that seemed to have the principles and temper of inquisitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings." * Many, however, eager for promotion, were less scrupulous; and, as the necessity for getting ministers was most urgent, much more attention was paid to their loyalty and conformity, than to those moral and intellectual qualifications, so essential for the profitable and respectable discharge of the ministerial office. The selection accordingly was such as to increase the prejudices against episcopacy, which so many causes had united to produce. The great majority chosen, were men in every respect despicable. As preachers, they fell far below their predecessors. Their deficiency, indeed, was so apparent, that even the most ignorant could not fail to discover it; and, copying the manners of those by whom they were appointed, they not only threw aside the decency of the clerical life, but they disgusted, by the most scandalous dissoluteness and vice, those whom they should have instructed and reformed. Such of them as were less depraved

CHAP. XXIII. 1662.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 228.

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endeavoured to gain the favour of those whom they courted, by the most imprudent violence against the covenanters, and thus rankled the wound which they should have been desirous to heal. That this general picture is not exaggerated, the representations of almost all the writers who had access to be informed, places beyond a doubt; but it ought to be remembered that there would be many exceptions; that, as Leighton reflected honour upon the high order of ecclesiastics with whom he was associated, there would be, in the humbler orders, some who were qualified to adorn any ecclesiastical establishment. *

Political changes.

About this time Lauderdale was plotting the disgrace and ruin of the Earl of Middleton, who had been so zealous in accomplishing the ecclesiastical revolution which has been detailed. Much of the political conduct of that nobleman, as commissioner in parliament, laid him open to the attacks of his enemies, and the balloting act, as it was called, which excluded from all offices of trust twelve persons, exasperated Lauderdale, and the others against whom it was directed. After much intrigue and cabal, they succeeded in destroying the influence of

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 229, and 307. The testimony of Burnet is valuable, both from his being an episcopalian, and from his having been personally acquainted with the new ministers. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 156—158. Short Memorial, &c. p. 5, 6. Naphtali, p. 171, and 181. In this last mentioned place, the authors make an appeal to their countrymen for the accuracy of their statement.

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the man whom they detested. The affairs of Scotland were transferred to the management of Lauderdale, and the Earl of Rothes, having been appointed to preside in the session of parliament which was about to be held, came with him to Scotland, being completely devoted to his measures, or overawed by his authority. * 1663.

The session of parliament commenced soon after his arrival, and one of its first acts excited the attention and the pity of almost all descriptions of the people. Johnston of Warriston, of whom I have already spoken, had, upon his escape, been condemned to die, and his estate was forfeited. In about two years after his flight, he was apprehended in France; he was brought to London, and, towards midsummer, he was sent to Scotland, that his execution during the meeting of the estates might make the deeper impression. Having landed at Leith, the infirm old man, attended by a guard, was conveyed uncovered to the Castle of Edinburgh, but the council using the power which had been given to them, permitted him to see his friends. Although he had been previously sentenced to death, he was placed at the bar of the estates, that he might urge any thing which he could state against

Parliament meets, and orders the execution of Warriston. 18th June.

January.

8th July.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 216—220, and 296—298. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 121, and 167—169. Appendix to Acts of the third Session of 1st Parliament of Charles the II. in Murray's Collection.

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1663. the sentence being executed. His appearance powerfully affected many even of those who were exasperated against him. Bending under the pressure of age, and of infirmities which the improper treatment of a physician who afterwards boasted of his villainy had aggravated, he made an incoherent defence, sufficiently shewing that his vigorous faculties had been impaired. Numbers avowed their determination to save his life, but Lauderdale, his former friend, and the warm defender of the schemes which he had proposed, checked this tendency to mercy. He knew that it would displease the King if a man who had been the leader of the presbyterians should be spared, and, sacrificing principle and humanity to the gratification of his ambition, he persisted in enforcing the mandate of execution. Warriston was accordingly ordered to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, and his head to be afterwards fixed on the walls of the city. On the day upon which he was to suffer, he was calm
22d July. and collected. He composed a speech justifying the covenant, asserting his own innocence, but lamenting that he had joined with Cromwell; and he read it twice with great firmness upon the scaffold. He prepared for death under the influence of the fervent piety by which he had been distinguished, and he expired without a struggle. It is impossible to conceive any thing more disgraceful to government than its thus wreaking its vengeance upon one who was hastening to the grave, who had

become an object rather of pity than of anger, but who was held in veneration by a great part of the inhabitants of Scotland. His execution was accordingly regarded as the most decisive proof of unrelenting antipathy to the presbyterians, and it confirmed detestation at the prelates, who were believed to have exulted over the fall of the most strenuous enemy of episcopacy. *

Its acts respecting Episcopacy.

The chief object of parliament was to strengthen the ecclesiastical government, and to put an end to that opposition to it which the existing laws had not been sufficient to restrain. Although the council had proceeded with the most arbitrary severity against the ministers who refused to conform, and had removed many of them from their parishes under circumstances which rendered their removal a heavy punishment, it was judged requisite to devise laws for putting the whole community at the mercy of a government, which, in its zeal to establish prelacy, zeal founded much more upon notions of political expediency than upon religious principles, had lost sight of the ends which all government is designed to promote. An act was passed against separation and disobedience of ecclesiastical authority, which, after renewing all former acts upon this

* Wodrow's, Vol. I. p. 172—175. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 207. He speaks of his uncle's death with the commiseration of affection. Short Memorial, p. 4. Warriston's last speech is published by the authors of Naphtali in that work, p. 259—267.

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1663. June.

subject, and urging their being rigorously carried into execution, thus proceeded: "His Majesty, with the advice and consent of his estates in parliament, doth hereby statute, ordain, and declare, that all, and every such person and persons, who shall hereafter ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings of divine worship in their own parish church on the Lord's day, whether upon account of Popery or other disaffection to the present government of the church, shall thereby incur the pains and penalties underwritten, viz. Each nobleman, gentleman, and heritor, the loss of a fourth part of each year's rent in which they shall be accused and convicted, and every yeoman, tenant, or farmer, the loss of such a proportion of their moveables as his Majesty's council should think fit, not exceeding a fourth part thereof; and every burgess to lose the liberty of merchandizing, trading, and all other privileges within borough, and the fourth part of their moveables." In addition to these penalties, such corporal punishment was to be inflicted as the council thought necessary, and all were to be summoned who, after admonition by the minister before two competent witnesses, were by him accused as transgressors of the act. *

* Acts of 3d Session of Parliament of Charles II., p. 82, 83. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 169, 170, and Appendix to that volume No. 40. Short Memorial, p. 7.

This singular statute was copied from an act against conventicles, which had been passed in England, and which had been justly reprobated as inconsistent with the existence of a free constitution. Its adoption in Scotland destroyed in that kingdom all security; subjected every man to an inquisitorial examination; put him at the mercy of an ignorant or violent priesthood; and exposed him to the most vexatious litigation, not upon ground clearly defined, but for an omission which might often proceed from causes rendering it no violation even of the law which it appeared to transgress. When we consider the state of the country, how much reason there was for being dissatisfied with the curates, and how often they must have been irritated and offended, it is impossible not to be sensible that the act to which I refer must have given rise to much wantonness of oppression. And when it is viewed as infringing liberty of conscience, it must be detested by all who value what they believe to be true. Transgressing against the most sacred rights of intelligent beings, it endeavoured to compel those against whom it was directed, to do what they were persuaded was a violation of their duty to God, and drove them to the sad alternative of moral degradation, or of temporal wretchedness. If the wisdom of the legislature had been employed to devise the most effectual mode of alienating the people from the King, and of driving them to discontent or to sedition, it could not have succeeded

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1663.

better than by carrying this statute into execution. One clause in it deserves peculiar reprobation. By this clause, power was given to the council to inflict such corporal punishment as the members thought fit; thus leaving the persons of his Majesty's subjects unprotected, and committing it to the discretion of the council to have recourse even to torture. We shall soon find this observation sadly illustrated; for it was upon this law that the first dreadful sufferings of the presbyterians was avowedly founded. The Earl of Kincardine, of whom, to his honour, it is recorded, that he abhorred all persecution, ventured to oppose the statute, and a few voted against it; but it was passed by an immense majority, including many of those who, not long before, had carried to excess the noble principles and maxims of political liberty. *

The subscription of the declaration sanctioned in a preceding session was anew enforced, and a time set apart for that purpose, whilst an act was framed for the establishment and constitution of a national Synod. This was probably intended to supply the place of the General Assembly; but the plan satisfied neither of the parties into which the nation was divided. Recognizing the right of the King to regulate the external government of the

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 248. Burnet says that when the act was passed, Lauderdale, in a long speech, expressed his zeal for the church. Could he have forgotten his zeal for the Covenant? Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 170.

church, the statute named the members of whom the Synod was to be composed. It ordained, that nothing was to be discussed except what was proposed by his Majesty, or to be regarded as ecclesiastical law, unless approved by the President, who was to be the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the majority of the members. All these arrangements shocked the sentiments of the covenanters; moderate episcopalians were displeased that the church was rendered so completely dependent upon the crown; and even the bishops were offended that so much power was given to the primate. The consequence was, that the national Synod never met, and that no one wished that it should be assembled. *

CHAP. XXIII. 1665. 14th Dec.

Parliament, after a long session, was dissolved, and did not again meet for six years. The council immediately entered upon the work which had been assigned to them, taking measures to compel all persons to attend their parish churches. To the south and west of Scotland, where attachment to presbytery was most decidedly manifested, some soldiers were sent under the command of Sir James Turner, who had once been a zealous covenanter, but who, having joined the royal party, did not shrink from any mode of shewing his sincerity.

General persecution of the Presbyterians commenced. 9th Oct.

* Acts of the first parliament of Charles II. in Murray's Collection, p. 84, 85. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 171, and Appendix to that Volume, No. 41. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 298, 299. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 464, 465, and 469.

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1663. Oct. and Nov.

They began to exact fines from those who absented themselves from public worship, as sanctioned by law, often acting with cruel insolence, which their commander did not restrain, and compelling those whom they injured to attest that they had shewn the utmost tenderness and forbearance. *

Glencairn the Chancellor averse from severity.

There was, however, much reluctance in the council to carry into full execution the cruel statute upon which they acted, and this reluctance was increased by the just and humane sentiments which the Earl of Glencairn, the chancellor, openly avowed. That nobleman, although he keenly promoted the establishment of episcopacy, was anxious that the powers of the bishops should be limited as they had been under the reign of James, and that the inferior judicatories of the church should be permitted to influence ecclesiastical proceedings. The ambition of the prelates, and particularly of Sharp, excited in him much disgust, and he felt great aversion to act so as to gratify that ambition. He accordingly, in the cases which came under his own inspection, shewed a lenity which the primate reprobated as undermining the church, and, towards the end of the year, he went to court to complain of the Chancellor and the council, and to represent to the King, that the most unhappy consequences were to be apprehended. †

* Wodrow's history, Vol. I. p. 184—186.

† Burnet, Vol. I. p. 300, 301. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 222. Wodrow's History, Vol. I.

His representations, supported by the English bishops and their party, had the effect which he wished; for the King, by commission, erected a court, which he vested with the ecclesiastical power before exercised by the Privy-Council in Scotland. The court consisted of the two Archbishops, the Lord Chancellor, whom Sharp was now authorized to precede, the Lord Treasurer, all the bishops, and about thirty laymen, named by the Primate. The King founded the deed of erection upon his royal prerogative, in all causes, and over all persons; and a few specimens will shew, that it was in every respect what might have been expected from such a source. Five members, of whom one was to be a prelate, constituted a quorum; and as the bishops were constant members, and deeply interested in the business of the court, the ample privileges conferred by the King, may be considered as having been directed by them. That it might have the appearance of a general measure, it referred to papists as well as sectaries; but that this was merely a pretence, the proceedings of the court fully shewed; for the adherents of popery were not molested, whilst the others were unceasingly harassed, and most grievously oppressed. The commission authorized those who were named in it, to put all the acts of parliament and council, for the peace and order of the church, into vigorous execution, against all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the church, all keepers of conventicles, all ministers

1664. High Commission established. 16th Jan.

CHAP. XXIII. 1664.

who, contrary to the laws of parliament and council, remained or intruded themselves into the function of the ministry in the parish inhibited by these acts; all who preached in private houses or elsewhere, without license from the bishop of the diocese; all who kept meetings at fasts, and the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, not approven by authority; all who spoke, preached, wrote, or printed, to the scandal, reproach, and detriment of the church and kingdom; all who contemned, molested, or injured the ministers who were orderly and obedient to the laws; all who did not ordinarily attend divine worship and administration of the word and sacraments performed in their respective parish churches, by ministers legally settled; and, generally, all who expressed their disaffection to his Majesty's authority, by contravening acts of parliament and council in relation to church affairs. The commissioners were authorized to appoint ministers to be censured, suspended, or deposed; to punish by fining, confining, committing to prison, and incarcerating them, and all other persons who should be found transgressing, observing the limits prescribed by the parliament and council. This ominous clause, however, was added, "The commissioners aforesaid, are authorized to do and execute what they shall think necessary and convenient for his Majesty's service, for preventing and suppressing schism and separation, for planting vacant churches, and for procuring reve-

rence, submission, and obedience to the ecclesiastical government established by law." All persons in authority were commanded to yield obedience to this court; and no fines were to be remitted without the certificate of an archbishop or of a bishop. * CHAP. XXIII. 1664.

From what has been stated, it will be seen, that this court virtually introduced the most execrable inquisition. Not only were all ranks of the community liable, without a libel, to be dragged before it, but a system was sanctioned which prevented social intercourse, which rendered it unsafe, even in the bosom of a man's family, to speak his sentiments, and which subjected him to the caprice or resentment of a body of men whom he might in vain attempt to conciliate. The worship of God, which should be dictated by principle, was thus rendered a matter of compulsion; and if, from scruples of conscience, any abstained from the Lord's Supper, they might be dragged from their homes, and doomed to any punishment which five partial judges might consider it as expedient to inflict. While such a court existed, law ceased to protect, and the happiness of life was destroyed; the hand of every man was against his neighbour; Remarks upon its constitution.

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 192, 193, has given the commission at full length. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 301. Short Memorial, &c. p. 78. Naphtali, p. 176. 177. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 222. Skinner, though writing the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, never alluded to this court of Commission. He could not be ignorant of its existence, and his silence shews that he could not or would not defend it.

CHAP. XXIII. 1664.

and religion, the best blessing of heaven, was converted into an instrument of the most intolerable oppression. Some of the episcopal clergy deplored this tyrannical institution, and laboured to prevent it. Burnet, though then a young man, ventured to remonstrate with Lauderdale; and when that unprincipled minister could not be moved to protect the most sacred rights of his countrymen, an application was made to Sharp, urging him to adopt milder methods for confirming his influence. Upon his worthless mind, this made no impression; he despised the virtuous man who presented it, and although a friend to the episcopal church, treated him with coldness and disdain. *

The mode in which the church was thus supported, affords the clearest proof that the great mass of the people continued to deplore the form under which it existed; and completely shews the fallacy of a representation which has been confidently made, that episcopacy soon became popular, and was resisted only by a small and desperate faction, upon which forbearance and clemency could make no impression. †

April. Cruelty of the court of commission.

The court of commission met in Edinburgh, and commenced its proceedings. Its attention was chiefly directed to those parts of Scotland which most

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 302, 304, 314, and 317, 318. Copies of the Memorial were sent to all the bishops.

† Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 466, and 470.

strenuously resisted episcopacy; and vast numbers were, for alleged offences, brought before it. The great object which it had in view was, to compel attendance upon the established clergy, that there might be the appearance of unanimity where the reality was wanting. Every idle accusation against the enemies, or supposed enemies of the church, was gladly received, and was made the ground of the most iniquitous proceedings. When they who were accused attempted by proof to establish their innocence, or to shew that they had a sufficient reason for absenting themselves from the parish church, they were interrupted, brow-beaten, and insulted; and the bluntness with which some addressed the primate, refusing to give him his high titles, was punished with an inhumanity, which even atrocious crimes could not have justified. The lawyers anxiously endeavoured to regulate, by legal forms, the inquiries and sentences of the commission; but Sharp considered this as betraying the church; and the Earl of Rothes, who, upon the death of Glencairn, had received the seals, supported the arbitrary decrees which the archbishop was not ashamed to dictate. During the period of its existence, numbers were wantonly cast into prison; fines were imposed upon others, which involved them in ruin; and many who were in the earlier stages of life, were whipped through the streets. Such conduct, whilst it deservedly increased antipathy to the prelates from whom it originated, disgusted the suffer-

1664.

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1664. ers at a government which permitted abuses so enormous; the people became sullen and disaffected; and not a few, to escape the oppression which they dreaded, took refuge in Ireland, where they were permitted, without molestation, to exercise their religion. The lay-members of the court at length felt the degradation of being made the instruments to gratify the bigotry of the bishops; the Earl of Rothes, naturally humane, became unwilling to persevere in cruelty; several of the nobles were disgusted; and, in the following year, upon a

1665. It is abolished. representation from Leighton, who, in expressing his wish to resign his see, declared to the King that he could not consent to planting Christianity itself, in such a manner as had been practised by the commission, his Majesty gave orders that it should be discontinued. *

Military oppression. But the unhappy presbyterians did not suffer merely from the arbitrary proceedings of this Scotch inquisition, they were exposed to the fury of military oppression, against which it was vain to struggle or to complain. The council persisted in maintaining forces in the disturbed counties; these forces were still commanded by Turner, whose ferocious disposition was often heightened to frenzy

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 307, 308, and 312, 313. Wodrow, Vol. I. under the years 1664 and 1665. Short Memorial, &c. p. 7, 8. Naphtali, p. 176, 177, and 184—187. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 33—35.

by intoxication, and scenes of inhumanity and brutal violence were daily exhibited, which were sufficient to goad to the most desperate excesses. Lists of persons who were absent from church were received by this officer from the officiating clergy; no inquiry was made by him to ascertain whether those lists were accurate; but he arbitrarily fined the delinquents, and, when they were unable to pay the money, he quartered his soldiers upon them till the sum was extorted, or till they were totally ruined. It is painful to dwell upon such enormities, and painful to think that men, professing a religion of mercy, should have for a moment imagined, that, by measures so detestable, they could render either themselves, or the ecclesiastical polity which they defended, acceptable to the nation. Much as the violence and the intolerance of the covenanters merited condemnation, their worst excesses were tenderness and mercy, when compared with the persecution which was now directed against them. * 1665.

Insurrection.

The patience which under all their sufferings they had displayed was at length exhausted. Horrified and exasperated by an act of tyranny, revolting to every feeling of humanity, a small number of them assembled, seized Sir James Turner, and disarmed his soldiers. Irritated, and most justly so, against Turner, some proposed to put him to

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 237, and 241. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 309. Short Memorial, &c. p. 8. Naphtali, p. 190—196.

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1666. Nov.

death, but, with a moderation rarely found amidst popular tumults, the proposal was resisted upon the ground that he was obliged to obey his instructions. These instructions were produced, and it was found that he had not gone so far as he was warranted by them to proceed. The original party was slowly joined by others who entertained the same sentiments. When they were collected they specified the objects which they were eager to secure. They professed the warmest loyalty to the King, who certainly was little entitled to their reverence; they renewed the covenants, announcing their determination that this should be done universally, that presbytery should be restored, and that their former pastors should be permitted to return.

When the intelligence of this insurrection was carried to Edinburgh, the council was filled with dismay. The Earl of Rothes had a short time before gone to court, and the management of affairs had thus devolved on the primate, who shewed the pusillanimity of a man conscious how much cause he had to dread the vengeance of his countrymen. The necessary orders, however, were issued for suppressing the rebellion. The most exaggerated accounts of it were transmitted to London, accompanied by earnest solicitations that all the forces in the north of England might be sent to strengthen the government. An army, accordingly, much more than adequate to the enterprize, marched under the command of Dalziel, who afterwards

became so infamous, to encounter the insurgents. They had directed their course to Edinburgh; but finding that they were not cordially supported, and that their numbers were rapidly decreasing, they resolved to return. A proclamation, offering them pardon, if they submitted within twenty-four hours, had been issued; but of this they could not avail themselves, and they trusted that they would be able quietly to disperse. They had stopped at Rullion-Green, in the neighbourhood of the Pentland-hills, entertaining some faint hopes that a treaty would be concluded, when they were informed of Dalziel's approach. A battle soon ensued. Hastily collected, unaccustomed to military service, worn out with fatigue, and wanting experienced officers to direct them, they displayed undaunted courage. Twice they repulsed the troops brought against them; but a third assault determined the fate of the action. The number of killed did not exceed fifty; and night favouring their dispersion, the greater number escaped; but about a hundred and thirty, amongst whom were several who had been very active, were taken prisoners. *

1666. 28th Nov.

It is quelled at Pendland.

The archbishop, delivered from the terror with which he had surveyed the tumult, determined to proceed against those who had been engaged in it

Inhuman treatment of the prisoners.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. Book ii. chap. 1st, sect. 2, which is devoted to this incident. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 341—346, compared with the account in Naphtali, p. 196—203. Hind let Loose, p. 137. Short Memorial, &c. p. 8.

CHAP. XXIII. 1666. Dec.

with unrelenting severity. Burnet, not the historian, who had some time before succeeded to the see of Glasgow, advised that all who would not make the declaration renouncing the covenant, should be hanged; and, although this was considered as too grossly iniquitious, he was dispatched to court to procure authority for acting against those who refused the declaration as guilty of sedition. It is fair to state, that many of the episcopal clergy, and several of the bishops, differed from the archbishops, and entertained sentiments equally creditable to their political sagacity, and to their religious principles. They earnestly implored, that the opportunity now afforded should be improved for regaining the affections of the people, by clemency to men who were regarded as having been engaged in a good cause, representing, that the prejudices against episcopacy would, by such indulgence, be certainly diminished. Wishart, bishop of Edinburgh, although naturally of a rough disposition, conducted himself upon this occasion with the utmost humanity, and by many kind offices, he endeavoured to alleviate the hard fate of the prisoners, who were closely confined. But neither entreaty nor example softened the obdurate heart of the primate; and the measures which he adopted, whilst they exasperated the people, transmit his own name, and the names of those who supported him, with deserved infamy to posterity. *

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 346, 347. The

The council, guided by Sharp, ordered Dalziel to search and apprehend all persons who had been in arms with the rebels, or who were suspected to have been so, and required him to quarter his forces upon their lands. A few days after, a proclamation was issued, forbidding every one, upon pain of treason, from assisting, supplying, or having any correspondence with those who had been engaged in the rebellion, naming sixty persons included under this charge, and adding the vague clause, or any others who concurred with them; requiring that they should be pursued as the worst of traitors; and certifying, that all who failed to deliver them to the council, or to the nearest magistrate, should be punished as accessory to the insurrection. * 1660. 1st Dec. 4th Dec.

On one day, ten of those who had been seized were brought to trial and condemned, and they were soon after executed together. They conducted themselves with that firmness which enthusiasm in such circumstances generally produces. They believed, and they justly believed, that they were martyrs to the covenant, which they venerated as the cause of heaven, and, resting in the assurance of divine acceptance, they addressed the spectators in language of piety, which few heard without emotion. After they had expired, their bodies were 7th Dec.

anecdote, so honourable to Wishart, is confirmed by a remark concerning him in Keith's Catalogue of Scotish Bishops, p. 40. Naphtali, p. 203, 204.

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 254, 255, and Appendix to Book ii. No. 8.

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1666. Dec.

dismembered, and their heads and arms were sent to different parts of the kingdom to be publicly exhibited. There was, in this savage outrage to the dignity of our nature, something so detestable, that the feelings of human beings must have been extinguished, had it not excited abhorrence; yet it was known that this was done in consequence of the suggestion of Sharp, who had been himself a covenanter, and who had been exalted to the highest situation in the new establishment. Thirty-five prisoners were sent to the places with which they were connected, and there suffered as the vilest malefactors; whilst the episcopal clergy, far from shewing pity, disgusted many of their own adherents, by reviling the sufferers, and denouncing against them

19th Dec.

eternal condemnation. * At Glasgow, four men were hanged; and a circumstance which occurred at their execution will shew the shocking condition to which Scotland was reduced. When on the scaffold, they attempted to speak to the multitude which had assembled, but, probably from apprehension of the effect which might be produced, their voices were drowned by the beating of drums, —a practice which afterwards became common upon similar melancholy occasions. †

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 256, 257, and Appendix to Book ii. No. 9. Naphtali, p. 201, 218, and 265—276, where their testimony is inserted. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 347. Short Memorial, p. 8. Sir George Mackenzie in his Vindication, has feebly attempted to apologize for such atrocious cruelty.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 259. The author of the Short

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1666. Dec. Sufferings of M'Kail and Nielson.

One instance of cruelty, even more striking than those which have been recorded, must yet be detailed. Amongst the number taken at Pentland, were a young man of the name of M'Kail, who, having been educated for the church, had become a preacher, and Nielson of Corsac, a gentleman of respectable talents and situation in life. They were suspected of knowing all the circumstances connected with the insurrection, and, in the hope of compelling them to make discoveries, they were put to the torture. The species of torture was horrible. The leg was confined in an iron boot, and wedges were driven between them. Generally the wedges were applied only to the back of the leg, but not unfrequently, as in the present cases, to the shin, and the bones were thus shockingly mangled. This execrable practice had long been obsolete, but it was now revived, and contributed to render the bishops, in the estimation of the people, monsters rather than men. M'Kail and his friend remained firm, but the council was not satisfied with what they had endured, and not long after they were hanged. M'Kail met death with triumph, and his dying exclamation was heard with emotions of admiration and horror. His last words were, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars, farewell kindred and friends, farewell world and time, farewell weak and frail body; welcome eternity, wel-

4th Dec.

22d Dec.

Memorial, &c. speaking of these executions, says strongly, "Turks would have blushed to have seen the like." Naphtali, p. 220.

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come angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the Judge of all." *

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The public abhorrence which the death of this virtuous man excited, was increased by the discovery that, before it took place, the Archbishop of Glasgow had returned from London with the King's approbation of all which had been done; but with an opinion, that enough of blood had already been shed. Burnet, upon the shameful pretence that no meeting of the council had taken place to which he could communicate his instructions, permitted the execution to proceed. It was suspected that Sharp was chargeable with similar guilt,—that a letter had been addressed to him by the King at an early period after the suppression of the covenanters at Pentland, discharging capital proceedings, and that he did not impart it till all whom he had wished to cut off had perished. Of this charge, however, there can be little doubt that he was innocent, and that the criminal conduct of his colleague had, through mistake, been imputed to him. †

Conduct of Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow.

When the nature of the insurrection, trifling and ill-concerted, is compared with the tremendous punishment with which they who were engaged in it were visited, the dreadful tyranny which at this

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 259—261. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 347, 348. Naphtali, p. 309—328, where a very full account is given of M'Kail, Short Memorial, &c. p. 8.

† Burnet, Vol. I. p. 348, 349, compared with Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 255.

time was exercised in Scotland will appear in its true light; even the most zealous supporters of episcopacy, should lament that it was associated with enormities sufficient, and more than sufficient to alienate from it the respect and the affections of the people. *

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Public executions at length ceased, but perhaps more wretchedness than even these occasioned was in a different way produced. Dalziel, and some other officers equalling him in brutality, were sent with a body of armed men to the western districts of Scotland, and were empowered to take any measures which they thought calculated to break the spirit which the rising at Pentland had exhibited. They shewed themselves the faithful instruments of an unrighteous government. Without feeling the slightest anxiety to discover upon whom their fury should be wrecked, they plundered, threatened, tormented, and imprisoned all whom caprice, or the secret information of base sycophants rendered ob-

Military and civil tyranny.

* Skinner, in his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, has written in such a manner respecting the events of this period, as if he dreaded that the exhibition of the truth would be injurious to episcopacy, and not solely to those who were guilty of the excesses which have been recorded. He thus expresses himself, "Of the prisoners taken, a few were hanged at different places, who might have saved themselves if they would have renounced the covenant. And the King, out of his own innate clemency, put a stop to further execution, by ordering his commissioner, Rothes, to set the remaining wretches at liberty, upon their simply promising to obey the laws in future." Vol. II. p. 471. This is not the language which an impartial man of right feelings would have used.

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noxious to them; some they put to death, not only without a trial, but even without an accusation; in their own conduct they outraged every principle of morality, accompanied and cheered by too many of the episcopal ministers, who even exceeded them in vice; and not only was every vestige of freedom razed from that part of the kingdom which was delivered to them, but it exhibited an infamy of oppression, and a total disregard, on the part of government, to the dictates of humanity, which more resembled oriental despotism, than the polity of a country in which so many efforts had been lately made to restrain the prerogative of the crown. *

They succeeded in inspiring a degree of terror, which, for a moment, suspended the operation of principle, and defeated the suggestions of conscience. The people, trembling at the outrages which they witnessed, frequented the churches, in what temper and with what feelings, there is no room to doubt; and the clergy exulted as if the great work had been completed, as if a service wrung from the miserable victims of oppression could be mistaken for that change of sentiment which the prelates were so eager to create. But it is not of the nature of religious zeal to be permanently intimidated, and meanly to relinquish the objects which it has consecrated; the people soon recovered from the stupor into which crimes, shocking to humanity, had cast them,

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 349, 350. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 264—266. Naphtali, p. 224—228. Short Memorial, &c. p. 89.

and prepared to sacrifice to the cause which they loved and revered, their comforts, their property, and their lives. * 1667.

But military oppression did not exhaust the tyranny of those who administered the government, they did not scruple to press law itself into the service of injustice. Many of those who had gained safety by flight, were in their absence tried as traitors, and condemned; their lives and their estates were forfeited, and their families were thus exposed to every species of wretchedness. †

It is viewed with abhorrence.

At length, however, the eyes of the enlightened part of the community were opened to the horrors with which they were surrounded; the nobility were shocked with measures which threatened to terminate in the desolation of the kingdom; the virtuous and honourable of the episcopal clergy mourned over events which were so disgraceful to their order; and circumstances occurred which led the King, inconsiderate and unprincipled as he was, to reflect upon the dangers which might assail his throne, if he did not check men who had so sadly abused the authority with which they had been entrusted.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 349, compared with Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 263.

† Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 260—170. Laing, in his History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 42—44, speaks of this perversion of justice with the indignant feelings of an upright lawyer.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOURTH.

Lenient Measures adopted by Government....Indemnity granted, upon signing Bonds of Peace.....Proceedings against Conventicles. ..Proposal of Indulgence to the Presbyterians.....Attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp.. .Indulgence granted.....Remarks upon it..... Views of the Presbyterians.....Division amongst them.... Violence of those who refused the Indulgence....It is opposed by the Archbishop of Glasgow....He gives offence to the Court....Parliament....Act, asserting the Supremacy of the King in Ecclesiastical Matters.... Archbishop of Glasgow removed from his Diocese.... He is succeeded by Leighton....Scheme of Accommodation proposed by that Prelate....Conferences in relation to it with the Presbyterian Ministers....They reject it....Observations upon its rejection....Effect of this upon the state of the Presbyterians....Severe Act against Conventicles....Ecclesiastical state of Scotland.

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1667. Lenient measures adopted by Government.

THE embarrassment occasioned by the political state of England, by the continuance of the Dutch war, and by the severe measures to force conformity, had excited so much discontent, that the King saw the importance of endeavouring, by a milder administration, to soothe feelings which might else lead to a renewal of the convulsions from which he had so materially suffered. The

party in Scotland, hostile to the rigour of the prelates, embraced this opportunity of representing the deplorable condition of that kingdom, and Charles, influenced by these representations, which were strengthened by Lauderdale, and by dislike at the deceitful conduct of Sharp, which that nobleman had exposed, determined to put the administration of the country into other hands. Sir Robert Murray, one of the most liberal and enlightened men of his age, was employed to prepare the way for this change. He examined into the complaints which had been made against the bishops, and into the characters of the clergy who had been appointed by them, and he was satisfied that a more indulgent system should be introduced. Having been appointed Lord Justice-Clerk, he joined with the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, in accomplishing the wishes of the sovereign; and the Earl of Rothes having been removed from the office of commissioner to that of chancellor, some interruption was given to the oppression sanctioned by the council * The prelates, however, did not, without a struggle, acquiesce in the adoption of measures which they dreaded would be fatal to the church. They stated to the King, that such was the dissatisfaction of the western counties, and so violent the attachment of the great part of their

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1667.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 350, 351, 355, 356, and 363. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 271—274. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 46, 47. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 755.

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1667. inhabitants to the covenant, that, if the armed force were withdrawn, they would probably again break forth in tumult and rebellion; but happily this language, so unbecoming ministers of religion, produced no effect, and soon after the conclusion of the treaty at Breda, a positive order was issued to disband the army. * The Earl of Rothes, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and all the officers, who looked with eagerness for plunder, expressed their disapprobation of this step; but, as it could not be prevented, it became a matter of discussion in what manner the tranquillity of the kingdom was now to be preserved. The church-faction proposed, that the declaration should be pressed upon all who were suspected of disaffection, and that

1st Oct. they who refused to subscribe it should be punished as traitors; whilst the party disposed to moderation, sensible that this would be universally resisted by the presbyterians, suggested, that a bond of peace should be framed, requiring only obedience to government, and that indemnity should

Indemnity granted, upon signing bonds of peace. be granted to all who signed the bond. Peace, it was urged, would thus be immediately restored, and time would be afforded for applying such remedies as the religious state of the country might be found to require. The suggestion was adopted; and the advice of the council having been transmit-

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 271, 272, compared with Burnet, Vol. I. p. 352.

ted to court, it was approved by the King, who gave orders that all who had been engaged in the late rebellion should appear before the council, and, upon giving the security required, should be pardoned, with the exception of a few peculiarly obnoxious; and that the noblemen and gentlemen who complied, should not be pressed with the declaration. Of this wise offer, the most considerable of those who were liable to persecution, gladly availed themselves; but some of the strictest presbyterians considered it as implying an acknowledgement of the ecclesiastical constitution established by law, and the ministers who had been banished to Holland reprobated it as destroying what they styled the covenanted reformation work. The persons, however, who refused to be benefited by it, were, in general, of the lowest ranks of life, and, when combined with the disbanding of the army, it certainly made a very favourable change in the situation of those for whose advantage it was designed. *

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1667.

1668, Feb.

But although the influence of the church-party was thus, in what related to the administration of

Proceedings against conventicles.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 276—279, and 286—288. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 356. Short Memorial, &c. p. 9, 10. This production, which is written with great perspicuity, expresses the sentiments of the most zealous presbyterians, and, on this account, I frequently refer to it.

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1668. the government, in some degree counteracted, there was no direct relaxation in favour of the presbyterians as a religious body; but, on the contrary, his Majesty expressed his determination to support the church, and to silence those by whom it was opposed. Of the ministers who had withdrawn from their parishes at the introduction of episcopacy, several remained in the neighbourhood, and, yielding to the wishes of such as regarded them, and to their own zeal against prelacy, they performed divine worship in any houses to which they could gain access. They were, upon these occasions, attended by immense multitudes, and the curates, seeing their churches deserted, loudly complained of this interference. The council, listening to them, severely fined some who had been present at the meetings, and issued warrants for apprehending all outed ministers, as they were denominated, or others who kept conventicles.

23d July. The King afterwards urged them to rid the nation of such seditious preachers and pretended ministers as had kept conventicles, or gathered people to the fields, since January last, declaring, that he looked upon them as the greatest disturbers of peace, and perverters of his subjects. In consequence of these steps, many of the presbyterian clergy were considerably harassed; but conventicles, notwithstanding, multiplied, and the people, considering attendance upon them as the unequivocal test of religious

sincerity, were prepared to submit to any punishment rather than forsake them. * CHAP. XXIV.

1668. Proposal of an indulgence to the presbyterians.

This led anew to the consideration of what were the wisest remedies which could now be applied. The Earl of Tweeddale suggested the propriety of granting an indulgence to some of the most moderate and respectable of the outed ministers, in consequence of which they might exercise their functions in the parishes which should be assigned to them, and under such restrictions as might be imposed. The proposal was communicated by him to several of those whom it nearly concerned; they listened to it with much satisfaction; and several conferences relating to it had taken place, when an incident occurred which suspended the design, and afforded a handle for fixing upon the discontented party imputations which they did not merit. †

11th July. Attempt to assassinate archbishop Sharp.

On the afternoon of the eleventh of July, Sharp having gone into his coach at the head of Blackfriars-wynd in Edinburgh, a solitary assassin discharged a pistol at him, and the balls shattered the arm of Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, who was following the primate. Although multitudes must have witnessed this scandalous outrage, no effort was made to secure the person who had been guilty of it; he deliberately retired to his lodgings, and, hav-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 289, 290. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 361, 362.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 291, 292.

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ing changed his dress, appeared openly as if nothing had happened. At this time he escaped; but the archbishop had so steadily examined his features, that some years after he pointed him out, and he was, as we shall find, tried and executed. This bold attempt shewed Sharp how hazardous his situation was; he was deeply affected; he assumed the language of devout resignation, language which before he had been little accustomed to use; and he now seemed an advocate for that gentleness towards the enemies of the church, which he secretly condemned. Such an atrocity as an attack on the life of so distinguished an individual, instantly drew the attention of government; the most careful search was ordered to be made for the criminal; rewards were offered for his apprehension; and it was asserted, that what was evidently the scheme of a solitary enthusiast, and approved only by those guided by the same desperate fanaticism with himself, was suggested and applauded by the whole body of presbyterians. The zealous adherents of episcopacy took advantage of this incident to aggravate the danger of concession to men, who, to gratify their antipathies, could, without scruple, violate law, humanity, and religion. *

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 407, 408. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 292, 293. Papers left by Mitchell the assassin, and sometimes added to Naphtali, p. 1. The author of the Hind let Loose, p. 152, plainly approves of the attempt, and probably there were more such men who did so, but there is clear evidence that the presbyterians, as a

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The feelings, however, which this detestable action not unnaturally excited, gradually lost strength, and government again took under consideration the scheme of indulgence which had been deferred. The archbishop, who, through the enmity of Lauderdale, had for some time been banished from court, was, upon his escape, called to London, and treated by Charles with the most gratifying attention; and still affecting a desire of acting with gentleness, he agreed to propose, upon his return, that some of the presbyterian ministers should be indulged. He accordingly did submit a scheme to the council, and, probably soon after this, the Earl of Tweeddale delivered a letter from the King, in which the nature and the terms of the indulgence were distinctly specified. * By this letter, his Majesty authorized the council to appoint so many of the outed ministers as had lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they resided, to preach and exercise their other ministerial functions in their former churches, provided these were vacant, or in such vacant parishes as by the patrons might be

1669. July. Indulgence granted.

7th June.

body, condemned it; and that the assertion to the contrary by Skinner, Vol. II. p. 471, 472, is without foundation.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 409, says, that after Sharp's return, he moved in council, that an indulgence should be granted, but in such a manner that it came to nothing. This proposal, as is evident from p. 413, was previous to the King's letter, which was written in consequence of the representation of Tweeddale, and of Burnet himself. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 304, mentions, that Tweeddale delivered the King's letter to the council.

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1669. June.

assigned to them; and that the ministers restored, should constitute sessions and presbyteries, as had been done before the year sixteen hundred and thirty-eight. They were strictly enjoined not to admit to the communion persons from other parishes, and to do nothing calculated to draw away to their churches, those who should attend at their own; and it was ordered, that such of them as should deliver from the pulpit seditious discourses, should be silenced, and be subjected to what other punishment it might be judged expedient to inflict. To encourage conformity, the presbyterian ministers who took collation from the bishops, were to receive the whole emoluments of their benefices, while they who did not, were to enjoy only the manses and glebes. An intention was announced of conferring annuities upon those of them who, from the want of vacant parishes, could not be immediately restored; but it does not appear that this intention was carried into execution. The King's letter concluded by instructing the council, that, as the pretence for conventicles was taken away, all who should afterwards be found to preach without authority, or to keep conventicles, and all who attended them, should be proceeded against with the utmost severity, as contemners of his Majesty. *

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 304. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 413, 414. Short Memorial, &c. p. 10, and Hind let Loose, p. 139, 140. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 472.

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1669. June.

This indulgence, from whatever motives it originated, exhibited much of the true and benevolent spirit of toleration. It exempted the presbyterians from the stern jurisdiction of the prelates; it secured to them the privilege of worshipping God according to their consciences, whilst nothing was exacted from the ministers which it was unreasonable to demand, or which it was not the duty of good subjects cheerfully to yield. It did not, however, prove satisfactory. The bishops considered it as undermining the foundation of episcopacy, and as, from the popularity of the indulged ministers, rendering the scheme of procuring for prelacy universal influence impracticable. They were also alarmed at the manner in which the indulgence was given. It flowed solely from the King; the church had never been consulted; and it was evident, that, notwithstanding all the statutes by which it was protected, his Majesty might, according to the precedent now established, have, at a future period, had he felt the inclination, doomed it to destruction. *

Remarks upon it.

Upon receiving the royal mandate, the council informed those ministers whom they intended first to restore, and invited them to come to Edinburgh, that the letter might be read to them, and that they might receive their appointments. Upon their arrival, they entered upon the consideration of the

Views of the presbyterians.

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 304. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 473.

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1669. 8d Aug.

conduct which they should follow. They determined to accept of the indulgence, but to state what appeared to them exceptionable in the terms by which it was accompanied. On the day appointed they came before the council, and ten or twelve having been nominated, some to their former parishes, and the rest to others which were vacant, the resolutions or injunctions, which had been formed into an act of council, were read. Hutchison, who had great influence with his brethren, made, upon this occasion, the following speech, expressive of his own sentiments, and of those generally entertained by the ministers with whom he had corresponded:—"I am desired in the name of my brethren here present, to acknowledge, in all humility and thankfulness, his Majesty's royal favour in granting us liberty, and the public exercise of our ministry, after so long a restraint from the same; and to return hearty thanks to your Lordships for the care and pains taken therein, and that your Lordships have been pleased to make us, the unworthiest of many of our brethren, so early partakers of the same. We having received our ministry from Jesus Christ, with full prescriptions from him for regulating us therein, must, in the discharge thereof, be accountable to him. And as there can be nothing more desirable or refreshing to us upon earth than to have free liberty of the exercise of our ministry, under protection of lawful authority, the excellent ordinance of God, and to

us most dear and precious, so we purpose and resolve to behave ourselves, in the discharge of our ministry, with that wisdom and prudence which become faithful ministers of Jesus Christ; and to demean ourselves towards lawful authority, notwithstanding of our known judgments in church affairs, as well becomes loyal subjects, and that from a principle of conscience. And now, my Lords, our prayer to God is, that the Lord may bless his Majesty in his person and government, and your Lordships in your public administration, and especially in the pursuance of his Majesty's mind, testified in his letter, wherein his singular moderation eminently appears, that others of our brethren may, in due time, be made sharers of the liberty that, through his Majesty's favour, we now enjoy." *

This was language highly creditable to the party by whose representative it was used. There is a display of calmness and sound judgment far removed from the wildness of fanaticism; and, with a manly adherence to principle, there is a pledge of loyalty which opened the prospect of the restoration of that harmony, without which a nation cannot be happy. About thirty more ministers were indul-

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 306.—Hind let Loose, p. 141. I have inserted the speech at full length, as throwing much light upon the sentiments of the leading men amongst the presbyterians, and shewing the moderate and rational views by which they were at this time guided. See also Burnet, Vol. I. p. 414, who speaks with just approbation of the speech.

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ged; and although some scruples were entertained about entering into parishes without those popular forms which had been engrafted on the presbyterian polity, these scruples were removed, and the suspended pastors resumed their ministry.

Divisions amongst the Presbyterians.

The clear line of policy to be followed by the whole body of covenanters, was, to join in the prudent resolutions of the best part of their ministers; to adhere to the restrictions, and thus to obtain an enlargement of the number of faithful preachers. This was the first impression; for multitudes flocked to the churches of the restored clergy, and, for a short time, warmly expressed their gratitude and their satisfaction. Soon, however, this unanimity was interrupted, and the loudest complaints were made against the indulgence. The ministers to whom it was extended, acting conformably to their promise, conducted themselves with the most exemplary caution; and, omitting those controverted topics by which the passions of men had been so long inflamed, they confined themselves to the far more useful and dignified part of inculcating the great truths and precepts of religion. But to the majority of their hearers, this mode of preaching was most unsatisfactory. Accustomed to political discussions, or to what was called preaching to the times, to the gratification of that ardent curiosity, and that virulent party-spirit which destroy the relish for even the most important abstract instruction, they branded their teachers as having betrayed

the grand work to which they should have born testimony; denominated them the King's curates; and gratified their malignity by deriding them as dumb dogs. This uncandid and unwarrantable contempt was applauded by those of the ministers who, from their violence, had been refused indulgence; they insinuated that their brethren were the agents of the Sovereign; they raised the cry of Erastianism; and they succeeded not only in drawing away vast numbers from the replaced ministers, but in increasing the eagerness to frequent conventicles, where the inflammatory topics of ecclesiastical and political controversy were discussed, in the manner most gratifying to their prejudices and their enthusiasm. They who thus acted must be blamed; for, by rejecting what they should have received, they weakened the cause which they were eager to support, and plainly shewed, that, unless they could change places with the prelates, and exterminate or silence all who differed from them, they would reprobate toleration as a snare, which every good man should strive to avoid. *

Indulgence opposed by

The archbishop of Glasgow was more dissatisfied

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 308, 309, has stated very candidly the sentiments which were entertained respecting the indulgence. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 414, 415. For the opinions of the most violent presbyterians, see Short Memorial, &c. p. 10. Hind let Loose, p. 143, and Short Relation concerning Richard Cameron, in Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 320. Consult, on the other hand, Skinner, Vol. II. p. 472, 473.

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with the indulgence, than the most vehement of the presbyterians. In his diocese, which comprehended nearly a fourth part of Scotland, were situated the districts in which the greatest violence of ecclesiastical faction existed, and he and his clergy saw and deplored the popularity of the indulged ministers. Attempts were daily made to increase their number; and the influence of the established priesthood rapidly declined. Forgetting those maxims of passive obedience, which are regarded only when it is easy to obey, they, with great force of argument, reasoned against the indulgence as a violation of law. By the acts in favour of episcopacy, none were eligible to benefices but those who received collation from a bishop; and consequently, the outed ministers who were indulged had no legal title to their situations, but held them in consequence of the arbitrary mandate of the Sovereign. Taking advantage of this fact, it was moved, in a synod held at Glasgow, that a representation should be made to the King of the evils which they suffered from the indulgence, and that it should be held forth as illegal, and as threatening to be fatal to the church. Such language was, according to some old statutes, criminal, inferring capital punishment to those who used it, and the members of the synod, aware of their danger, resolved to keep the address secret till they had taken advice; but a copy of it was surreptitiously obtained and sent to court. The King having seen it, styled it another western re-

1669. the archbishop of Glasgow.

Sept.

He gives offence to the court.

CHAP. XXIV.

monstrance, and ordered, not only that the archbishop should not be permitted to come to parliament, but that legal proceedings should be instituted against him. He had before this rendered himself obnoxious, and some steps were now taken to compel him to resign his bishopric, when it was judged prudent to exercise such a high act of prerogative. *

1669. Sept.

A parliament had been summoned to meet in October; and the Earl of Lauderdale having come from court to preside as commissioner, it assembled at Edinburgh, and commenced its deliberations in November. The great ecclesiastical object in view was, to give such an explanation of the power inherent in the crown, as would justify the late indulgence, and put the bishops in such subjection to the King, as would prevent them from thwarting the measures of government. Lauderdale, in his address to the estates, earnestly recommended the preservation of the church as established by law; and he took occasion to express (with what sincerity they who heard him would be at no loss to appreciate) his great zeal for episcopacy. Of that zeal he gave a very ambiguous proof, in passing what was technically called the assertory act. The

Parliament. Nov.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 416, 417. He says that the Synod was held in October; but Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 313, 314, who has given a particular account of this matter, puts it beyond a doubt that it was held in September. Compare these two writers with Skinner, Vol. II. p. 475.

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1669. Nov.

design of this act was to assert his Majesty's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical. This statute is so remarkable, and opened the way to such abuses, that it may be interesting to have in view its more important clauses. "The estates assert and declare, that his Majesty has the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, within this kingdom; and that by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church, doth properly belong to his Majesty, and his successors, as an inherent right to the crown,—and that his Majesty, and his successors, may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they, in their royal wisdom, shall think fit. Which acts, orders, and constitutions, being recorded in the books of council, and duly published, are to be observed and obeyed by all his Majesty's subjects, any law, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." *

Act asserting the supremacy. 16th Nov.

This act was seen by every party to put religion

* Acts of Second Parliament of Charles II. p. 112, in Murray's Collection. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 418. The author of the Hind let Loose, has inserted the Act, p. 140, but, with wonderful inattention, has represented the council as proceeding upon it in July several monthe before it was in existence.

almost completely in the power of the King. He might, in virtue of it, change the external government of the church; he might even introduce Popery itself; and there is some ground for believing that Lauderdale, who was by this time acquainted with the Duke of York's attachment to that faith, really designed the statute to ingratiate himself with the heir of the throne, by paving the way for easily carrying into effect any changes which he might wish to propose. The bishops were in their minds hostile to it, and Sharp spoke against it, but they all supported it by their votes. The presbyterians, although Lauderdale endeavoured to persuade them that they had much to hope from it, saw its dangerous tendency, and, in consistency with their notions of the origin and nature of ecclesiastical power, they condemned it.* In every point of view it is to be reprobated. It is inconsistent with a free constitution; it lays the foundation for intolerance; and it strikingly shews, how much reason there was to deplore, that the zeal for civil liberty, which the covenanters had uniformly cherished, had been exchanged for that tame submission to the sovereign, which shocks the best feelings of our nature, and annihilates the noblest motives by which men can be influenced.

CHAP. XXIV. 1669.

The King being now vested with full power to proceed against any of the clerical order, lost no

The Archbishop of Glasgow

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 309—311. Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 418—420. Short Memorial, &c. p. 10. Hind let Loose, p. 143.

CHAP. XXIV.

time in availing himself of it, but issued his mandate to the Archbishop of Glasgow to resign his see. Resistance was vain, and the prelate at once obeyed. His obedience was reported to the council, and his name was erazed from the list of members. He went into retirement; and whilst he continued in it, he was more esteemed than he had been when he enjoyed his high ecclesiastical promotion. *

1670. removed from his See. 6th Jan.

He is succeeded by Leighton.

The amiable and venerable Leighton was selected to supply the vacancy. He was first entrusted with the administration of the diocese, and afterwards created an archbishop. The modesty by which he was so remarkably distinguished rendered him averse to this exaltation; but his anxiety to carry into execution schemes which he had formed for suppressing religious dissension, combined with the entreaties of his friends, induced him to acquiesce in the nomination of the Sovereign. † He was no sooner installed, than, in the true spirit of a Christian bishop, he directed his attention to the moral and religious improvement of those whom he superintended. He assembled his clergy, and, in various addresses to them, he recommended patience, moderation, and a strict regard to piety and virtue, advices against which nothing could with decency be objected, but which the persons to whom they

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 421, 422. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 314, 315. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 895. Keith's Catalogue, p. 153. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 475, 476.

† Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 424.

were given, heard with coldness or aversion. Sensible of the deficiency of many of his presbyters, he brought into his diocese several enlightened men, in the hope that their efforts to instruct the people would be more successful; and he appointed a certain number to receive complaints of the irregularities of the clergy, to try such as were scandalous, and to punish them as their different cases should render just and expedient.* 1670.

His scheme of accommodation.

But he rendered himself peculiarly entitled to the veneration of the moderate and enlightened part of the community, by the scheme which he proposed

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 426, compared with Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 333, 334. Wodrow's testimony in favour of Leighton seems to be given with reluctance; and there is evidently a wish to prevent too high an opinion of this good man from being entertained. Keith, in his Catalogue, p. 159, bears honourable testimony to Leighton's piety, and to his exemplary discharge of his episcopal functions. Skinner, too, Vol. II. p. 472, says he was a good man, but he adds, not, it is to be hoped, with a view to the conscientious manner in which the archbishop promoted religion and discountenanced vice, he was not strictly prelatical. In a postscript to Naphtali, p. 341, is the following account of one of the most venerable and virtuous of men. "It is true, indeed, that Mr Leighton, prelate of Dunblane, under a Jesuitical-like vizard of pretended holiness, humility, and crucifixion to the world, hath studied to seem to creep on the ground, but always up the hill toward promotion, and places of more ease, honour, and wealth; and as there is none of them all hath with a kiss so betrayed the cause, and smitten religion under the fifth rib, and hath been such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practice, and expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a Popish affection." Thus does the rancour of party spirit eradicate the spirit of Christianity. How applicable to this writer is the warning, "Woe unto them that call good evil."

CHAP. XXIV. 1670.

for accommodating the differences between the episcopalians and the presbyterians, and for combining them in one establishment. He had, from the last introduction of prelacy, been dissatisfied with the harsh methods which had been adopted by the council,—he had strenuously defended the indulgence, but he was peculiarly solicitous that attempts should be made to comprehend both parties,—he had suggested this idea to the King, and he afterwards fully matured it, communicating it to the leading men amongst the presbyterians. Upon his translation to the see of Glasgow, he entertained sanguine hopes that he might be able to carry it into execution. * He proposed that the government of the church should be vested in the bishops and the clergy, meeting together in church judicatories,—that the bishops should act only as presidents, and be guided by the majority of presbyters, both in what related to jurisdiction and to ordination; that a negative voice should not be claimed by the bishops; that ordinations should take place in the churches destined for the persons to be ordained, and should be with the concurrence of the presbytery; and that synods should be held every third year, at which complaints against the bishops might be received. Upon these complaints being established, the bishops were to be censured. To satisfy the

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 312,—364, 365,—413.

consciences of the presbyterian ministers, he farther proposed that they should be allowed, when they became members of the ecclesiastical courts, to declare that their doing so was merely to restore peace, but that they did not pledge themselves to admit the presiding of the bishops; and that such as were ordained should be at liberty to declare whether they thought that the bishops were only the heads of the presbyters. *

To justify or recommend concessions which reduced episcopacy so nearly to the standard of presbytery, and left to the bishops little more than the title, he urged that the restoration of harmony would be attended with the happiest effects; that the protestations which might be made would never more be heard of; that although allowing those who were ordained to declare their sentiments respecting the office of a prelate, appeared to perpetuate divisions, still matters might be so managed, that few would take advantage of their privilege; and that, at all events, the majority would be chosen from men friendly to episcopacy. He represented, that it was much more decent to ordain at the churches which were to receive ministers, than carelessly to perform this solemn work at the cathedrals; and he insisted upon the reasonableness of bishops being under some control. It was thus

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 335. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 335, and Appendix to Book ii. No. 45, being a proposal made to Leighton.

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his opinion, that if the presbyterians could be induced upon any terms to join the church, they would afterwards become more reasonable; and that episcopacy, nearly in the form in which it had been originally introduced into Scotland, would probably be established in the hearts of the people. *

He was desirous that there should be conferences with the other party upon his propositions; but the Earl of Kincardine, whilst he highly approved the scheme itself, wisely represented that little advantage would result from discussion, and advised that the concessions should be embodied in a law, of which it was probable that many would gladly and silently take the benefit. Leighton was convinced; but Lauderdale, who was in all likelihood adverse to the plan, objected to this, alleging, that the only pretext which could be urged to the violent churchmen in England for such a modification of prelacy was, that the presbyterians would, in consequence of it, lay aside their enmity to episcopacy. He was accordingly determined to discuss the subject, and several of the most respectable of the ministers were invited to Edinburgh to meet Lauderdale, when he came to hold the second session of parliament. †

9th Aug.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 404, 405. Bishop Keith, in his Catalogue of Scotish Bishops, speaks with much respect of Leighton, but he takes no notice of the scheme of accommodation, from which it may be inferred that he disapproved of it.

† Burnet, Vol. I. p. 405, 406, compared with p. 425. See also p. 427, and Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 335.

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1670. 9th Aug.

Sharp and the bishops, with the clergy who were zealous for the influence of the church, and the dignity of the episcopal order, viewed with abhorrence the whole scheme; they reprobated it as undermining episcopacy, or as an insidious mode of founding presbytery upon the ruins of the hierarchy, and they exclaimed against Leighton, and those who adopted his sentiments, as enemies to the cause which they affected to promote. *

Conference with the Presbyterian Ministers.

When the ministers assembled, Leighton stated his propositions, and employed many arguments to induce them to acquiesce in his scheme, after which Lauderdale enforced what the archbishop had said. They listened, however, with much coldness to the plan so warmly recommended, and were not influenced by the arguments used in its support. They were convinced that there was a design to ensnare them. This impression could not be removed; and after all the conferences and deliberations which took place, they reported that the whole was unsatisfactory, and that they could not assent to the proposed union. Upon receiving their final answer, Leighton asked if they had nothing on their side to propose. They had considered this matter, and had at one time resolved to make a proposal including the demand that ordination might be conferred without bishops, but they at length abandoned the intention, and they replied in general terms, that

They reject the scheme of accommodation.

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 437, 438.

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their principles were sufficiently known, but that they had nothing to propose. *

1670. Observations upon its rejection.

Thus terminated a negociation, conducted on the part of Leighton with a degree of forbearance and liberality, evincing the ardour of his zeal for the best interests of religion, and for the restoration of harmony amongst those by whom it was professed. The scheme of episcopacy to which the presbyterians were required to assent, was not inconsistent with the principles of the first reformers in Scotland, and was not a greater deviation from presbytery than that which took place when Cromwell interdicted General Assemblies. That episcopacy, when freed from the abuses which have been sometimes associated with it, was not unlawful, they could scarcely doubt; for bishops, by the admission of all parties, were early introduced into the church, and continued to administer it till the introduction or the restoration of presbytery after the Reformation. Had they accepted the offers which were made to them, they would have been almost universally reinstated in their parishes; the spiri-

* Burnet, Vol. I. p. 427—437. He took an active part in the discussions, and, from his being intimately acquainted with the whole proceedings, he was fully qualified to state the facts. His account however, should be compared with Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 334—338. Wodrow, in his Appendix to Book ii. No. 46, has inserted a kind of counter-proposal by the presbyterians, which was never brought forward, and which may be compared with what Burnet says upon this subject, Vol. I. p. 433.

tual instruction of the community would have been to a considerable degree entrusted to them, and with the command which they had of the people, they could perhaps have given such a direction to their minds, as would not only have been favourable to the increasing influence of religion, but would have rendered it wise in government not again to attempt changes to which the presbyterians were decidedly hostile. 1670.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, it cannot be a subject of astonishment that the ministers acted as they did. However much they may have respected the motives of Leighton, they knew that the majority of his brethren condemned the measure which he had brought forward; that the constant efforts of the most powerful of the clerical order would be directed against it; and that, connected as they were with government, and furnished with the means of influencing the presbyters, there was much danger that the liberties of the church would soon be subverted. In this they were confirmed by the ecclesiastical history of no remote period. The encroachments which were made upon the cautions against the abuse of prelatical power, during the reign of James the Sixth, were fresh in their recollection, and there was little reason to think that the existing bishops would shew more moderation than their predecessors, or tamely submit to restrictions, wresting from them the high privileges which they had by the

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law of the land been permitted to exercise. The presbyterians, it is evident, were fully persuaded, that the project of the Archbishop of Glasgow was chimerical, and that any concurrence which they could give would only irritate or alienate their followers, without promoting the tranquillity which it was the desire of Leighton to restore.

Effect of the rejection upon the state of the presbyterians.

The issue of the treaty, however, was unfavourable to the comfort of those to whom that issue was ascribed. Previous to this, they were by many regarded with feelings of pity and esteem. They had been driven from benefices in which they had been legally inducted, and, by an unexpected and unwarranted change, had been exposed to severe suffering; but after the failure of Leighton's scheme, they were exhibited as obstinately adhering to their own ecclesiastical maxims, and as determined to reject whatever did not restore to them all the privileges, which, in the days of the covenant, they had possessed. Sharp, and those of the prelates who were hostile to the propositions, and rejoiced that they had been rejected, took advantage of the firmness of the presbyterians, represented this as establishing all which had been said against concession, and, in process of time, succeeded in visiting them with a severity of persecution, disgraceful to those who suggested it, and to the government which did not view it with abhorrence. *

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 429, and 437.

1670. Severe act against conventicles. 13th Aug.

Whilst this measure of accommodation was agitating, parliament passed a memorable act against conventicles. These, after the indulgence, rapidly increased, and, at one held in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, vast numbers, carrying with them their ordinary arms, had assembled. This circumstance, certainly imprudent and suspicious, afforded ground for the insinuation, that the covenanters were determined to defend themselves by force; and Lauderdale, to whom an account of this meeting was transmitted, resolved to lose no time in breaking a spirit from which the most dreadful excesses might be apprehended. * For this purpose, the act to which I have referred was sanctioned by the estates. It was divided into two parts. The first part prohibited all outed ministers from preaching, praying, or expounding Scripture, except in their own houses; and all who, though not belonging to the family, attended in these houses, were made liable to oppressive fines. The second part was intended to guard against field-conventicles, which were considered as more dangerous than the other. One clause of this part, as giving a melancholy view of the spirit of the times, is here transcribed: "And farther, his Majesty, understanding that divers disaffected persons have been so maliciously wicked and desperate, as to

138. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 335—339. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 49—51.

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 429, 430.

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convocate his Majesty's subjects to open meetings in the fields, and considering that these meetings are the rendezvous of rebellion, and tend, in a high degree, to the disturbance of the public peace, doth therefore statute and declare, that whosoever, without licence or authority, shall preach, expound Scripture, or pray at any of these meetings in the field, or in any house where there be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors, or who shall convocate any number of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death, and confiscation of goods." Severe penalties are then denounced against the persons attending such conventicles; rewards are offered to informers; and, to stimulate the activity of the magistrates, the heavy fines exacted upon conviction are awarded to them. The duration of the act is fixed for three years.*

A more disgraceful statute never obtained the sanction of a legislative assembly. Although the covenanters are declared to be treasonable, yet the punishment of death is ordained to be inflicted, not for stirring up the people against the sovereign or the government, but, for preaching, praying, and expounding the scriptures; that is, for what

* Murray's Collection, 5th Act 2d Session of the 2d Parliament of Charles II. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 430. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 330—332. Short Memorial, &c. p. 71. Hind let Loose, p. 141. In this production, it is asserted, that the severe acts against the conventicles increased the number who attended them.

deserved reward rather than punishment. The encouragement given to informers rendered all social intercourse unsafe, exposed every man to the malice of those whom he might have offended, or who wished his ruin; whilst the scandalous clause, rendering the discharge of duty and the love of interest in the judges at variance, directly tended to defeat the ends of justice, and to subject the community to intolerable oppression. Even the King, with all his want of consideration, saw the shocking nature of this law, and declared, that had he perused it, he would have withheld his approbation; but he had not virtue to insist that it should be repealed. A great part of the members of parliament were averse to it; but so completely was public spirit extinguished, that the Earl of Cassilis alone, to his immortal honour be it recorded, with the warm feelings of indignant youth, voted against it. Leighton did not hear of it till it was passed; he then, with his usual liberality, expostulated with the Earl of Tweeddale, honestly telling that minister, that the whole of the act was so contrary to humanity, not to say to Christianity, that he was ashamed to mix in the counsels of those by whom it had been framed; and Tweeddale excused it upon the vain and false pretext, that there was no design to carry it into execution. *

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 430, 431.

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1670.

Several other laws less shocking, but deserving of reprobation, were, during this session, enacted; one declaring, that the punishment of those, who being called upon, refused to depone against such as attended conventicles, should be fining and close imprisonment or banishment, by sending them to his Majesty's plantations in the Indies, or elsewhere; another against disorderly baptisms, denouncing severe penalties against parents who did not apply to their parish ministers to baptize their children; and a third, against withdrawing from the public meetings of divine worship. This statute was rendered remarkable, by being limited to his Majesty's subjects of the reformed religion, thus indirectly conferring on the adherents of popery, a liberty which was denied to protestants. *

Ecclesiastical state of Scotland.

From the detail which has been given, the ecclesiastical state of Scotland, and the views of government with respect to it, will have been rendered familiar to the reader. The great part of the episcopal clergy were anxious not only to support their peculiar polity, but to proceed with rigour against the presbyterians. Into this design the King's ministers so far entered, as to give every countenance to the prelates and the curates appointed by them; but, desirous to prevent the in-

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 430, 431. Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 332, 338. Murray's Collection, under 2d Session of the 2d Parliament of Charles II. Short Memorial, &c. p. 11.

fluence of the covenanters from being directed to inflame the people, a number of the preachers belonging to the former establishment were permitted, under certain restrictions, to officiate. Beyond this indulgence, however, the King would not go; and when ministers, not indulged, presumed to hold meetings, these meetings were branded by the appellation of conventicles, and the most arbitrary statutes were devised to effect their suppression. In this situation the inhabitants of Scotland continued for some years. The presbyterians, in particular districts, had access to their own pastors, but their spirits were wounded, and their zeal exasperated, by the proceedings instituted against those pious and venerable men, who could not, with conscience, submit to relinquish their ministry, because the civil power demanded that they should do so. It belongs to biography, and not to history, minutely to detail instances of oppression, and to record the conduct of the various individuals who suffered. It will now be sufficient for accomplishing the design of this work, to advert to those incidents which gave to the state of the church, or of the presbyterians, a new aspect, and led to events deeply affecting the religious and political condition of Scotland.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIFTH.

Temporary moderation of Lauderdale towards the Presbyterians.....Letters of intercommuning.....Distress occasioned by them.....New acts of severity.....Mitchell's condemnation and execution.....Army sent into the Western Counties of Scotland....Conventicles not suppressed.....Wretched situation of the kingdom.....Murder of Archbishop Sharp....Remarks upon his Death....Insurrection....It is quelled at Bothwell-bridge....Duke of Monmouth solicits an Act of Indemnity....His intention counteracted by Lauderdale.

CHAP. XXV.

1673. Temporary moderation of Lauderdale.

THE insolence of Lauderdale, heightened by the title of Duke which Charles had bestowed on him, and the violence of his administration, proceeding partly from the influence of his duchess, and partly from an irascibility, occasionally bordering upon insanity, exasperated many of the nobility who had at first supported him, and led them to unite in endeavouring to wrest from his hands the government of the kingdom. * But the King, although he admitted that Lauderdale had acted oppressively, was not willing to sacrifice him; he be-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 61, and 97, 98. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 345.

lieved that he was firmly attached to the prerogative, and the efforts against him at length completely failed. During the time, however, that he was apprehensive of the issue, he endeavoured to regain the popularity which he had forfeited; and although the proceedings against the presbyterians were not suspended, he shewed to them a degree of tenderness, which produced upon many of them a great effect, and irritated the established clergy, who dreaded that the church would be overthrown. CHAP. XXV. 1674.

Their fears, they soon saw, had been without foundation. No sooner had he triumphed over his enemies, than he gave full indulgence to his natural disposition, and, furious at the increased boldness of the persons who attended conventicles, he took measures for punishing them, which were inconsistent with all regard to the liberty or the happiness of his native country. A number both of the ministers and of the laity had been summoned to attend the council, to answer to the charge of having held conventicles, or having been present at such assemblies. Knowing that they would be condemned, they had not obeyed the summons. With a view of striking them with terror, an obsolete practice was revived, and what in Scotch law were termed letters of intercommuning, were issued against them. A more formidable instrument of 1675. Letters of intercommuning. August.

* Burnet, Vol. II. p. 108. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 379. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 61—64, and 68.

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1675. Aug.

oppression, it is difficult to conceive. These letters had for their object to prevent any intercourse between those to whom they were addressed, and their nearest friends; and to secure this, all who sheltered them, or performed towards them even the offices of humanity, were held as partakers of their guilt, and as liable to the punishment which had been denounced against those whom they relieved. Nothing could render submission to such tyranny a duty; for it was impossible to obey, without violating the best feelings, and the tenderest affections of our nature. Every man was thus also laid open to the malice of secret enemies, and it was put in the power of the most depraved to expose even the best to the relentless vengeance of an inquisitorial government.

Distress occasioned by them.

Scenes of the most heart-breaking wretchedness were accordingly everywhere presented. Multitudes considering themselves as proscribed, or conscious that they might be so, left their houses, and wandered through the kingdom; and this expression of despair was regarded as an unequivocal proof of disaffection which it was necessary signally to punish. Upon this pretext, Lauderdale gratified his fury against the presbyterians, and his hatred of those who had thwarted him in his tyranny, by seizing twelve houses belonging to the nobles who were obnoxious to him, converting these into garrisons, and giving licence to the troops which were placed in them to proceed with military

July and Aug.

execution, not against such as were legally convicted, but against those who were considered by men placed above all law, as meriting insult and oppression. * CHAP. XXV. 1676.

In consequence of these steps, many of the ministers were compelled to leave Scotland, and such of them as did not thus escape, were either in constant danger of being apprehended, or were actually committed to different prisons. Some years before this period, the solitary rock of the Bass, in the opening of the Frith of Forth, had been purchased in name of the King, and Lauderdale was appointed governor. To it were sent several of the preachers, and of these who had given offence to government by their scruples respecting conformity. †

New acts of severity.

But it was in vain to hope that conscientious men would long be restrained from doing what they believed to be their duty to their Creator. Conventicles soon multiplied, and as they who attended them were exposed to the most violent interruption, they assembled with arms, that they might repel any wanton attack. They did not, however, except merely in meeting, transgress the laws of their country; they peaceably dispersed

* Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 344, and Book ii. chap. 11. See also p. 436. Short Memorial, &c. p. 12.

† Burnet, Vol. II. p. 155, 156. Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 391, 392, where the acts of council respecting the garrisons are inserted. See also of the same work, p. 394, and 430, with Appendix to Book ii. No. 78, where there is ample information respecting the letters of intercommuning.

CHAP. XXV. 1677.

after divine worship was concluded; and, had they been left without molestation, there would have been no danger that the tranquillity of the kingdom would be interrupted by any concerted scheme of rebellion. But the bishops, who now had great influence in the council, beheld with indignation the avowed and growing enmity to episcopacy; they insisted that more decisive means should be taken to prevent conventicles; and it was resolved, that all noblemen and proprietors of land should be required to sign an obligation, that neither they, their families, nor dependents, should be present at such assemblies, and that they should hold no communication with any by whom these had been countenanced.* This obligation, even they who were attached to the government and to the church refused to subscribe; they saw that, if they did sign it, they bound themselves to do what was beyond their power, and that as it was impossible for them to direct the conduct of all with whom they were connected, they might, whilst their own deportment was in every respect conformable to law, be exposed to the punishment denounced against those who transgressed. They determined to remonstrate, but remonstrance was vain; for although Lauderdale at first was staggered, and even spoke of granting to

* Wodrow's History, Vol. I. p. 449, and Appendix to Book ii. No. 79, compared with p. 463. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 183. He mentions this under the year 1678, but the bond was issued in the preceding year. Hind let Loose, p. 147, 148.

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the presbyterians another and a more extensive indulgence, he soon changed his mind, and, with his accustomed fury, he swore, that he would extirpate conventicles, or ruin the country, if a stop was not put to them; and that he would compel every person to enter into the bond. For these ends, he represented the kingdom as in a state of rebellion; and he obtained the King's sanction to sending an army of Highlanders into the disturbed districts, to spread that desolation which was to be expected from troops that had never submitted to the empire of law, but were directed by chieftains who could command from their clans obedience to whatever they required. *

1677.

11th Dec.

Whilst these dreadful measures were in contemplation, an event took place which destroyed all confidence in the integrity of the government, and which increased hatred at Sharp, who was considered as the great promoter of persecution.

1678. Mitchell's condemnation and execution.

A few years before the period of which I now write, the Archbishop of St Andrews, struck by the constancy and eagerness with which he was viewed by a person of the name of Mitchell, whom he often passed, imagined that he recognized the features of the man who had attempted his assassination, and, upon his mentioning this circumstance, Mitchell was apprehended. Evidence of the fact,

* Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 182—184, compared with Wodrow, Vol. I. p. 438, and 456—459. Short Memorial, &c. p. 12. Allusion to this is also made by the author of the Hind let Loose, p. 149.

CHAP. XXV. 1674.

or even of his being the criminal, could not be produced; but Sharp, alarmed for his own safety, and anxious to discover all the particulars connected with the scheme against him, suggested, that the life of the assassin should be secured to him, if he made a full confession. To this Lauderdale consented. The Earl of Rothes, the Chancellor, Lord Hutton, and two others, were appointed to receive his confession, and, after the Chancellor had said, "Upon my great oath and reputation I shall save your life," he declared, that he had fired at the primate, but that nobody was implicated with him in the guilt. From the assurance of life given by their authority, the council could not pass; but, irritated that no more was disclosed, they ordered him to be tried, ordaining that, upon conviction, his right hand should be cut off, his property should be forfeited, and himself doomed to perpetual confinement. He was accordingly brought before the Court of Justiciary, but warned by one of the Judges who hated Sharp, of what was designed, and enjoined to acknowledge nothing, unless he was secured against all punishment, he pleaded not guilty, and retracted, or disavowed the confession which he had made. Exasperated at this conduct, the 12th Mar. Council framed an act, detailing all the circumstances; stating that he had confessed, upon assurance given to him by one of the committee, as to his life, and that this assurance was given in consequence of a warrant from the Lord Commissioner and secret

council. It concluded with the determination, that, as he had not adhered to what he had said, he should not have the benefit of the assurance; an expression implying, that, if his crime could be established by other evidence, he should suffer the punishment which it merited. No proof having been obtained, attempts were repeatedly made to induce him to criminate himself before the proper Court; and upon one occasion, the torture of the boot was applied to him with such cruelty, that the executioner seems to have been shocked by it, and exclaimed in a tone of compassion, that the prisoner had sunk under the anguish which he endured. His fortitude however was not shaken; he persisted in denial; and he was sometime after sent to the Bass, where he remained for nearly two years, in a great measure forgotten.

CHAP. XXV.

1674.

1676. 24th Jan.

The terror of the Primate, however, either continued unabated, or was renewed by the desperation to which the letters of intercommuning had driven many of the people; and he complained to Lauderdale, that his life was not safe so long as the man who had sought to deprive him of it was alive. Lauderdale yielded to the wishes of Sharp; and Mitchell having been brought to Edinburgh, was put upon his trial. No proof sufficient to warrant a sentence against him was adduced; and it was determined, after establishing the genuineness of his own confession, to proceed upon it, and, in violation of the promise made to him, to find him guilty.

1678. Jan. 7—9.

CHAP. XXV.

1678. Lauderdale, Rothes, and some others, were summoned as witnesses. All of them declared upon oath, that they had heard Mitchell acknowledge his confession; Rothes and Halton, that they were present when he actually made it; but they solemnly affirmed, that no assurance of life had been given to him; and that there never had been any authority granted by the council for making such a promise. Mitchell had, before his trial, been furnished with a copy of the act of council, and the lawyer who conducted his defence produced it; but no attention was paid to it; and when it was requested that the records of the council should be searched to establish its authenticity, Lauderdale interfered, and said, that he and the other noble persons who were present were not brought thither to be accused of perjury, and that, as the books of council contained the King's secrets, no court should have access to

Jan. peruse them. The judges were overawed by this threat. Without having recourse to the simple measure of examining the books, they found that the existence of the promise had been disproved by the oaths of the witnesses, and the prisoner was then sentenced to be executed, not from any evidence of his crime, but from the scandalous perjury of the chief men in the kingdom. Lauderdale's conduct was the more shameful, that he had been previously warned of the act of council, but he declared that it could not possibly exist, and he would not submit to consult the record. After the trial

however, the books were examined, and the act was found subscribed by Rothes; yet, although they were thus convicted of having sworn rashly, if not falsely, they did not save the man. The Earl of Kincardine had told Lauderdale, that he had, in his own letters, accurately stated the fact, and after Mitchell's condemnation, he sent to the Duke these letters. He was shaken by this; and he made a feeble effort in favour of Mitchell; but Sharp, who was deeply involved in the guilt of perjury, pressed the execution, declaring, that if it did not take place, any man might murder him. Upon this, Lauderdale, with horrible impiety, and the most revolting levity, exclaimed, then let Mitchell glorify God in the Grass-market; the place in which he was to suffer. He was accordingly executed, and the moral disapprobation of his crime was sunk in the abhorrence with which all regarded the means that had been employed to effectuate his destruction. They perceived that no law could shelter those who became obnoxious to the men in power, and that even the loudest calls of honour, and of religion, would be disregarded in the anxiety to sacrifice all who were accused; whilst the conduct of Sharp excited such detestation, that there can be little doubt of its having led to the melancholy catastrophe, by which he was soon after hurried from the world. *

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1678.

18th Jan.

* Full information respecting this singular trial, is given from authentic documents, which he has preserved, by Wodrow, Vol. I,

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1678. An army sent into the western counties of Scotland. Feb.

But the public attention was soon withdrawn from this disgraceful event, to the contemplation of the most horrible enormities. An army of nearly ten thousand men, six thousand being Highlanders, had assembled, and they received orders to direct their march to the west of Scotland. A committee of the lords of Council attended the army, not to prevent its ravages, but to point out victims, or to stimulate the ferocity of men despising all control, and delighted with the prospect of plunder which had been opened before them. The great object in view, was to compel the landed proprietors to take the bond which has been mentioned. Meetings of the committee of council were held to accomplish this; and whilst they deliberated, the soldiers committed all the atrocities which could have disgraced the forces of an enemy, in a country which they had reduced to subjection. It is painful to dwell upon this part of Scotish history, and still more painful to reflect, that religion was the pretext for such unmerciful oppression. The public counsels seem to have been directed by men who had not only divested themselves of patriotism, but who really wished to raise the rebellion which they pretended to quell.

p. 375—377, and 510—518. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 176—180, has also given a very interesting account, agreeing with Wodrow, and taken from an authentic record of the trial, signed by the clerk of court. In appendix to Naphtali, are some papers left by Mitchell, which confirm and illustrate what has been said.

A few weak or unprincipled men submitted to the council, but the greater part of those whom the bond was designed to intimidate steadily resisted, and new schemes were, with perverted ingenuity, devised to compel to acquiescence. When an individual dreads personal injury from his neighbour, he is entitled, upon swearing to the fact, to be protected by a writ called law-burrows, which binds the man from whom he apprehends danger under a severe penalty, to abstain, either by himself or his family and dependents, from doing him harm. With strange abuse of law this writ was sued in name of the King against his subjects; and all who declined the bond were ordered to give security that they and their household would not attend conventicles, under pain of being held as rebels. The discontent which such odious proceedings would create was anticipated, and a proclamation was issued by the council, prohibiting any person from leaving the kingdom without permission; a measure evidently intended to prevent the disaffected from repairing to London to state their grievances. This for some time had its effect; but the horror occasioned by the military was so general, that Lauderdale was alarmed, and the Highlanders were sent home a few weeks after they had commenced their warfare upon their fellow-subjects. Still, however, the bond and the law-burrows were keenly urged; and patience being at length exhausted, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Cassilis, and many

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other noblemen and gentlemen, disregarding the proclamation, went to court, to petition the king against the continuance of policy which would either drive his people to despair, or lay waste the kingdom. They were coldly received, and, for a considerable time, denied admittance to their sovereign; but their intelligence was too serious to be disregarded; and Charles, although, far from condemning his favourite, he approved of all which he had done, secretly resolved upon a change of measures, and, in a few months, he ordered the bonds to be laid aside. Lauderdale, with wonderful dexterity, obtained permission to call a convention of the estates; and this convention, whilst it gratified the King, by exacting from the inhabitants money to pay the army which had ruined them, warmly applauded the administration of Lauderdale; a fact strikingly shewing how little political virtue is, under particular circumstances, to be expected, even from men whose rank and property are commonly supposed to give them the deepest interest in the prosperity, the liberty, and the happiness of their country. *

Conventicles not suppressed.

The cruelty which had been exercised against the covenanters did not succeed in suppressing

* Wodrow, Vol. I. chap. 13. containing seven sections. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 184—188. For some of the most striking facts above stated, see Short Memorial, &c. p. 12. Preface to the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 16, 17. and the introduction to a singular tract, entitled, "The Life and Death of Mr Alexander Peden," by Patrick Walker, one of the suffering covenanters, p. 5.

conventicles. In consequence of the interference of the Duke of Hamilton and the other nobles, the presbyterians flattered themselves that persecution would be less rigid; they again shewed their attachment to their principles, and their meetings were openly and frequently held. Government determined that these should be prevented. Different plans for doing this were submitted to the King, and, upon being approved by him, were adopted by the council. The military were authorized to disperse all who had assembled to hear ministers not indulged, and to have recourse to violence, if they were in the slightest degree resisted. Magistrates were named in different parts of the kingdom, with power to proceed against all who disobeyed the acts of council; immense rewards were offered for the apprehension of the obnoxious preachers; and all persons against whom letters of intercommuning had been issued were ordered to be seized and imprisoned *.

1679. January.

Wretched situation of the kingdom.

The situation of the kingdom was at this time most deplorable. Under pretence of collecting the cess or tax which the last convention had imposed, and of compelling conformity, soldiers were again let loose upon the community. Numbers, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, placed with-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 10—12. Preface to the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 17.

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out the protection of law, and constantly apprehending that they would be imprisoned or put to death, were wandering about in the gloominess and ferocity of despair; whilst the presbyterians themselves were split into parties, one division of them cleaving to the indulged ministers, another declaiming against them, warning the people not to attend them, and poisoning their minds by the most fanatical and rebellious tenets. The efficiency and the security of a regular government were at an end; the nation was torn by faction; and vast multitudes attributing all this to the bishops, and particularly to Sharp, who was regarded with peculiar abhorrence, considered themselves as warranted to proceed to any extremity. The conventicles were now attended by formidable bodies of desperate and armed men; small detachments of these were constantly passing through different districts; and the public mind was raised to a degree of frenzy which prepared it for the most disgraceful enormities *.

3d May. Murder of Archbishop Sharp.

Of this a melancholy proof was soon given. The most vigorous measures had been adopted in the county of Fife for suppressing conventicles; and the primate had employed, in the execution of them,

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 24—27. and p. 40. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 266. Short Memorial, &c. p. 12. For information respecting the inveteracy between the different classes of Presbyterians, see the Hind let Loose, and Walker's Preface before quoted.

Carmichael, a man of abandoned character, who was guilty of the most shocking cruelty. His conduct at length so exasperated some of those whom it had filled with indignation, that a party of nine, amongst whom were several of respectable families, formed the resolution of either so terrifying him, as to make him leave the country, or of putting him to death. On the third of May, they went to the neighbourhood of the place where he resided to watch for him, but having obtained information of their intention, he eluded their search; and they were just about to separate, when they received intelligence that the coach of the archbishop, who was returning from attending the council, was in an adjoining village, and would soon pass where they happened to be. The idea at once suggested itself of imbruing their hands in his blood; and they dwelt upon the dangerous and deluding plea, that they were called to take vengeance for the murders which, with his sanction, had been committed. In the extravagance of enthusiasm or fanaticism, they then prayed to God for direction; and probably conceiving that such direction had been given, they persisted, against the feeble remonstrances of Hackstoun of Rathillet, in executing their shocking purpose. Upon the coach appearing, they ferociously rode towards it, and although the archbishop, when he saw them, ordered his servants to drive with increased speed, they overtook it, and discovered that it contained the primate and his daughter. They immediately

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1679. May.

fired into it, but no wound was inflicted; and they then ordered Sharp to come out. He refused, and, without shrinking from the possibility of killing his daughter, they again shot at him. Still he sustained no injury; but his furious assassins were not satisfied; they compelled him to leave the carriage, regardless of his entreaties; and, after wounding him, they, with affected concern for his soul, enjoined him to pray. The agony of his daughter made upon these men no impression; they evinced the most hardened brutality; and at length, with detestable cruelty, they put him to death. *

The character of the archbishop, it is unnecessary, after the detail of his public conduct, minutely to delineate. His desertion of the cause which he was employed to promote, shews that he was little guided by the steady maxims of integrity and honour; whilst his duplicity as a courtier, and his severity as a persecutor, justly expose him to the condemnation of posterity. Even the writers who are most eager to hold him forth as a martyr for the church, have been compelled to pass over in silence

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 28—33, and Appendix to book 3d, No. 10. The account which this historian, who was not partial to Sharp, gives of the murder, must, I should think, shock every mind not sunk in depravity. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 266, 267. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 479—481. Collier, Vol. II. p. 898. Hind let Loose, p. 153. Many other accounts of this transaction have been published, and among these, one, not the least remarkable, is to be found in the Turkish Spy; but, from the writers whom I have quoted, full information, as to the facts, may be obtained.

his piety and his virtue; these are emblazoned only in the inscription upon his splendid monument in the church of St Andrew's, the suggestion of filial reverence, and shewing how easily the reputation of excellence, in so far as it can thus be conferred, may be obtained. * 1679.

Remarks upon his death.

The manner of his death filled good men with horror. His helplessness,—his earnest supplications for mercy,—the situation of his daughter,—the cool villany of the perpetrators,—and the savage barbarity with which they effectuated the murder, made a deep impression; and the indignation with which the archbishop had long been regarded, was, in some degree, extinguished in pity for his untimely fate. The best part of the presbyterians unequivocally condemned what had happened; others of them, though they disapproved the deed, did not conceal their satisfaction that vengeance had overtaken their most inveterate enemy; whilst it cannot be dissembled, that there were some who not only exulted over the assassination, but who considered those who perpetrated it as the ministers of heaven. It is evident, however, from the whole documents, that it was not a concerted measure; that it had not entered into the views of the assassins, till they received an account that the primate was in their

* Keith's Catalogue of Scotish Bishops, p. 26, 27. The inscription may be seen in Delineations of St Andrews, a work holding a high place in the class to which it belongs, and which was given some years ago to the public by Dr Grierson.

CHAP. XXV. 1679.

power; and that the great body of the opponents of episcopacy may be safely acquitted from participation in the crime. *

But whilst the persons by whom it was committed should be execrated, let it not be forgotten that much of the guilt must be attached to those who governed the kingdom; that the bands of society had, by the most dreadful persecution and oppression, been in a great measure loosened; and that the feelings of the multitude, stimulated by enthusiasm, had acquired an influence which bewilders the understanding, confounds the sense of duty, and renders man a different being from what, in other circumstances, he would have become.

2d June. Insurrection.

The council, upon receiving information of Sharp's murder, took the most vigorous measures to discover the assassins; but they had instantly left

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 28. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 267. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 479, charges the whole body of presbyterians with the guilt; and, in opposition to the clearest evidence, affirms, that Mitchell acted by their instigation; and that they had never abandoned the scheme of assassination. That it was approved by some of the most furious of the covenanters, is evident from the Hind let Loose, p. 153; from the examination of Hackstoun, in the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 29, and from Walker's Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr James Welwood, in which singular work, the author mentions, that Welwood, when preaching in the neighbourhood of St Andrew's, pointing to that city, said, "If that unhappy prelate, Sharp, die the death of all men, God never spake by me," p. 105; and in p. 106, he introduces a godly old minister who said, "That God had assured him that he would raise up some Norman Leslie in Scotland, to execute justice upon Sharp, as upon Cardinal Beaton."

Fife, and had hastened to the west of Scotland, where discontent was now assuming a formidable aspect. The conventicles were guarded by armed men, determined to repel by force any attempt to disturb the celebration of divine service; and as the government had resolved effectually to suppress these dangerous assemblies, it was evident that some violent proceedings would soon take place. The persons who had been in the practice of meeting in separate conventicles, aware of their danger, united. Intelligence of this having been sent to Edinburgh, more troops were dispatched to the disaffected districts, and more violent proclamations were issued. The covenanters saw the importance of acting as a body; and they accordingly agreed to publish what they called their testimony to the truth. Having, on the twenty ninth of May, come to Rutherglen, they burned all those acts of parliament and council, which they stigmatized as prejudicial to their interest. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards distinguished as the Viscount of Dundee, marched at the head of a few forces in quest of those who had been guilty of this act of rebellion. He seized at Hamilton, King, one of the most popular of the ministers, with several who attended him; and binding them two and two together, he drove them before him, whilst he proceeded to a place at which a conventicle was to be held. Divine worship had commenced before his arrival, which was no sooner intimated, than all who had arms rushed to attack

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him; and, although undisciplined, they charged with such impetuosity, that his troops were put to flight. Elated with this success, they extended their views; and, being joined by numbers, sanguine in their hopes of success, the command was intrusted to Hamilton, a man who had shewn much zeal, but who soon proved himself unfit for the trust which had been reposed in him. The council were filled with alarm. They immediately announced to the King, that the standard of rebellion had been raised, and Charles appointed the Duke of Monmouth, his natural son, to command the army which was to march against the insurgents. He instructed him, however, to listen to the grievances which might be stated to him; and Monmouth, naturally humane, felt every desire to treat with lenity, men who had suffered under dreadful oppression. He arrived in Edinburgh, and, after being admitted a member of the council, he proceeded to the army. His favourable intentions were communicated to the covenanters, and several of the most moderate of them proposed to solicit an accommodation; but this was vehemently opposed, and was not adopted till accommodation was impossible. Monmouth advanced slowly, that they might have time to make submission; but when all hope of this was at an end, he attacked them at Bothwell-bridge, and obtained a decisive victory. The insurgents indeed shewed that they were little qualified to contend with regular troops; they neglected to avail themselves of the advantages of their situation, and Hamilton

18th June.

It is quelled at Bothwell-bridge.

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their leader, who had resisted concession, was amongst the first who left the field. The Duke, upon perceiving that the fate of the day was decided, gave orders for stopping the slaughter; an act of humanity most honourable to his character, gratefully acknowledged by those whom it preserved, but which was afterwards adduced to prove that he was not sincere in the cause of his Sovereign. * 1679. June.

Upon his return to London he solicited that an act of indemnity should be passed. His petition was granted, but the framing of the act was committed to Lauderdale, whose avowed opinion was, that the insurrection was to be ascribed to the lenity which had been already shewn. He, in conformity with this sentiment, made so many exceptions as to defeat every intention of mercy. Two of the ministers were publicly executed; several hundreds were sent to America and perished at sea. An indulgence, which Monmouth had obtained for the presbyterians, was, in consequence of the decay of his influence, speedily revoked, and was succeeded by despotism even more horrible than had yet been contemplated. † Duke of Monmouth solicits an act of indemnity. Effect of this defeated. 14th Aug.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. Book iii. chap. 2d, and 3d, where full information respecting this insurrection has been collected. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 267—270. Short Memorial, &c. p. 13. Hind let Loose, p. 153—156. Many particulars relating to Bothwell-bridge are to be found in the Cloud of Witnesses. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 481, who, because Monmouth did not exterminate the insurgents, applies to him the appellation of unnatural son of Charles.

† Appendix to Naphtali, p. 36—49. Hind let Loose, p. 157, 158. Short Memorial, &c. p. 13. Wodrow's Hist. Vol. I. p. 96—99, compared with Walker's Remarks, p. 166. Laing's History, Vol. II. p. 92—94.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIXTH.

Proceedings after the Insurrection at Bothwell Bridge.... Cameronians ...Measures taken to extirpate them..... Skirmish at Airs-moss....Execution of Hallston....Violent conduct of Cargill....Cameronians punished with death....A Parliament...Bill of Exclusion in England... Views of the Court with respect to it in Scotland... Duke of York appointed to preside in the Scotish Parliament....Act of Succession passed by it....Decay of Patriotism in Scotland....The Test....Many refuse to take it....Trial of the Earl of Argyll....Duke of York's Administration approved by the Scotish Bishops....General Account of the proceedings against the Presbyterians....Discontent in England.....Rye House Plot....Consequences of the Plot....Spence and Carstairs tortured....Indulged Ministers silenced.... Apologetical Declaration.....King's Proclamation.... Death and Character of Archbishop Leighton.....Moderation of some of the Bishops....Severe Measures in consequence of the Proclamation....Death of Charles the Second....His Character.

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1679. 1680.

Proceedings after the insur-

AFTER the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge had been suppressed, and some of their leaders punished, the moderate presbyterians hoped that their sufferings would be mitigated. They soon, however, found that this would not be the case. The clauses of

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exception in the act of indemnity were so numerous, that a vast part of the community was exposed to the rigorous punishment which it professed to avert, and no person could avail himself of the pardon which was promised without subscribing a bond, which obliged him to submit to the most violent and illegal exertions of the prerogative. Courts were instituted to proceed against all who declined the bond, or who were excluded from the indemnity, and these courts most tyrannically exercised the powers with which they had been entrusted. The suspension of the indulgence at length blasted the prospect which those who could not acquiesce in the established religion had of freely professing their principles, and they contemplated their fate with the gloomiest despair. *

1679. Insurrection at Bothwell-bridge.

A considerable number however did not calmly yield to oppression, but, driven to extremity, they boldly avowed maxims subversive of monarchy, and exposed themselves to sufferings, upon which imagination cannot dwell without horror. From the period of granting indulgences to some of the Presbyterian ministers, division was introduced amongst the covenanters. The preachers, who either could not procure indulgence, or who scrupled to accept of it, were regarded as adhering most conscientiously to the cause for which so many strug-

Cameronians.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. Book iii. chap. 3d, sects. 4th and 5th, and p. 119. Short Memorial, &c. p. 13, 14.

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gles had been made during the civil wars, and they were not averse to insinuate, that their more fortunate, or more complying brethren, had degenerated. For a considerable time this did not occasion much disunion; but, previous to the defeat at Bothwell-bridge, the differences between the parties had become more marked, and had produced a great effect upon the measures which had been adopted. The temperate whigs, for this appellation was now given to them, not only were disposed to accommodation, but they professed to be actuated by sincere loyalty to their sovereign, whilst the rest opposed every concession, and plainly avowed, that little respect was due to a monarch under whom their most sacred rights had been invaded, and the most rigid persecution had been instituted. This party was much guided by Cargill, and by two brothers of the name of Cameron, from whom the title of Cameronians was applied to them. The issue of their late insurrection, succeeded as it was by unrelenting severity, fortified them in their sentiments, and, hopeless as their case might have appeared to them, they determined to remain together, to disown all connection with the indulged ministers, and those presbyterians who did not enter into their own views, and formally to renounce their allegiance. A paper containing a statement of their intentions was discovered, and taken from one of their zealous adherents; but although they disavowed the paper, as not having been fully matured, they soon

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in the most public manner, appealed to their countrymen in defence of their tenets. A considerable number of them having entered the village of Sanquhar read, and afterwards affixed to the cross, a declaration, in which they asserted, that the King, by his perjury, had forfeited all right to the throne; that they abjured him; and that, placing themselves under the standard of the Lord Jesus Christ, they would make war against such a tyrant and usurper, and against all who adhered to him. * 1680. 22d June.

Measures taken to extirpate them.

From a handful of men irritated to madness, and destitute of all resources, nothing was to be apprehended by government; but it was the maxim of the Scotish administration at this time to convert every incident into a reason for proceeding with additional rigour against the nonconformists. A proclamation was issued, denouncing the leaders of this desperate band; requiring all persons to assist in apprehending them; exacting an oath from heritors and occupiers of land, that they would call the whole population above sixteen to particular places for examination; and offering a reward to those who should bring to justice Richard Cameron, Cargill, and several others particularly mentioned. Forces were sent to discover and punish the traitors; and,

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 132—137, and Appendix to Vol. II. No. 47, where the declaration is published at full length. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 823. Short Memorial, &c. p. 14, 15. Hind let Loose, p. 161—167. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 67, and Appendix to that work, p. 330—333.

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under pretence of ascertaining who were attached to them, many enormities were committed; all who had been at Bothwell were, notwithstanding the indemnity, harassed; and indeed the presbyterians, who were, though unjustly, suspected of abetting the rebellion, suffered the most grievous insults. All this, however, did not intimidate men who had advanced too far to retreat, and whose minds, heated by enthusiasm, were prepared for encountering, with stern fortitude, every calamity. About thirty of them, headed by Cameron, entered into a bond of mutual defence, adding, to their former declaration, that they solemnly protested against the reception of the Duke of York into the kingdom, on account of his religion,—a protestation called forth by his having, on the former year, during the debates in the English parliament upon the bill for his exclusion from the throne, come to Scotland, and taken up his residence in the palace of Holyrood-house. *

22d July. Skirmish at Airs-moss.

A small band of the Cameronians, not exceeding sixty, were overtaken at Airs-moss by some loyalists under Bruce of Earls-hall, and were immediately attacked. They defended themselves with the utmost bravery, but were overpowered by numbers. Cameron was killed, several of his adherents happily shared his fate, while Halkston of Rathillet,

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 139, 140, and 143. Short Memorial, &c. p. 15. Hind let Loose, p. 161.

1680. July.

and a few more, were taken prisoners. Halkston had been present at the assassination of Sharp; he had zealously entered into the views of Cameron and Cargill, and probably aware of what would be his fate, he fought with heroism, and did not surrender till he was covered with wounds. Even his imagination, however, could not have conceived the barbarity with which he was treated. Some tenderness was at first shewn to him; but having been brought before Dalziel at Lanark, that officer, not satisfied with the answer returned to some questions which he put, threatened to roast the prisoner, and, regardless of his wounds, he actually put him in irons, fastening him to the floor of his prison, and not permitting any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. Halkston, with the rest of the prisoners, at length reached Edinburgh. One of them expired when he was entering the city, and the others were conveyed to the castle, the head of Cameron being carried before them. Instructions had been given by the council to treat Halkston with the most dreadful severity. He declined the jurisdiction of the court, to the bar of which he was brought, denying the authority of the King, in whose name it was held; but this being of course disregarded, he was accused of being accessory to the murder of the primate, of publishing two seditious papers, and of having carried arms against his sovereign. He obstinately persisted in his refusal to plead, and being declared guilty, he was condemned to be exe-

Execution of Halkston. 26th July.

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cuted. The sentence had been concerted previous to the trial, and was dictated by the most horrible inhumanity. When he was brought to the scaffold, his hands were cut off, he was then suspended from the gibbet till life was almost extinguished, and in this deplorable state, his heart was pulled out, his body was dismembered, and his remains carried to different towns to be exhibited to the people. He submitted to this cruel punishment with unshaken intrepidity. Although exhausted by the loss of blood, and by the pain of his neglected wounds, he did not for a moment sink in despondency, but he died with that composure arising from the conviction, that the cause for which death is endured, is the cause of heaven. That he was justly condemned, cannot be denied, but the manner in which he was butchered, revolted the feelings even of those who reprobated his conduct, and rendered the government, in the public estimation, more detestable. Two other persons were a few days after sentenced to die, for having been present at the insurrections of Bothwell-bridge, and Airs-moss. They also met their fate with those transports which enthusiasm has so often excited, and which shew its wonderful power over the human mind, and the danger of rousing it by oppression. *

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 141—143. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 323—325. Burnet erroneously mentions, that Cargil was tak-

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Hitherto Cargill, who was one of the most revered of the party, had escaped. For him and his followers, the most anxious search was made, and he did not seek to remain in obscurity. He wandered through the country, embraced every opportunity of preaching, and, upon one occasion, having collected a considerable audience, he excommunicated the King, the Duke of York, and several more, to whom he ascribed the sufferings of his friends, branding his Majesty as a tyrant, and affirming that no deference should be paid to his authority. This step, so harmless, yet so extravagant, shewed that Cargill had cast aside all regard to prudence; it was condemned by the great body of presbyterians; but it was considered by the church party, as calling for even additional severity. The council accordingly published new proclamations, stimulating the agents of persecution in the shocking work which had been assigned to them. Many who were entirely innocent, were in consequence subjected to the most vexatious oppression, and several were wantonly put to death.* It is astonishing that the impolicy of this barbarous pro-

1680. July. Violent conduct of Cargill. Sept.

en with Halkston. Short Memorial, &c. p. 16. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 28—57, and Appendix to that work, p. 321, 322. Hind let Loose, p. 168. Walker's Life of Cameron, p. 114—119. Neal, Vol. IV. p. 624, has given a very inaccurate account of the transactions of this period.

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 144—148. Hind let Loose, p. 169, 170. Short Memorial, &c. p. 16. Appendix to Cloud of Witnesses, p. 327.

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cedure was not discerned, and that the government did not tremble at the danger of so completely alienating the affections of the people as to provoke a rebellion much more extensive than that which had been attempted by a few exasperated men, cut off from the blessings of society, and constantly haunted with the apprehension of torture and of death.

1680. July.

1681. Camerons punished with death.

In the commencement of the following year, many of the deluded enthusiasts who had imbibed the religious and political tenets of Cameron and Cargill, were apprehended; ensnaring questions were put to them; and, upon their either declining to answer these, or denying their allegiance to the King, they were sentenced to undergo capital punishment. Some of them were ignorant women, objects of pity, not of vengeance, and the whole of them were so little formidable, that the government, with all its cruelty, seemed reluctant to execute them; for a pardon was offered to such of them as would pray for a blessing on the King. No pains, however, were taken to remove their scruples, and to convince them that compliance with what was required was not sinful; and therefore believing that, if they presented the petition, they would give their sanction to the savage proceedings over which they mourned, they firmly refused, submitting to death with the triumph of martyrs. Cargill himself was at length apprehended; no delay took place in condemning him; and he was hanged at Edinburgh,

27th July.

with several who venerated the cause which he had laboured to promote. *

1681. A Parliament.

Nine years had now elapsed since the meeting of parliament, during which time the people had groaned under the tyranny of those in whom the administration of the government was vested, and who, at the instigation of the prelates, sought to force conformity to the established religion. Yet it does not appear, that any hope was entertained that the state of the kingdom would be improved by another convocation of the estates, or that any complaint had been made of the delay in convoking it. Persecution had broken the national spirit, and all ideas of emancipation from oppression seem for a season to have been extinguished. It had, however, become of importance to the King, and to his brother the Duke of York, by whom he was guided, to summon parliament, that its sanction might be obtained to certain measures respecting the succession to the crown; and the acts which were passed in it, may be considered as having ultimately led, though very differently intended, to the revolution by which the family of Stuart was removed from the throne.

Bill of exclusion in England. 1671.

The Duke of York had long been suspected of partiality to the Popish religion, and he at length

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 180—189. Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 324. Short Memorial, &c. p. 16. Hind let Loose, p. 172. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 1—19. Walker's Vindication of Cameron, &c. p. 143, 144.

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openly avowed that he had embraced it. The evils which had been banished by the reformation, and the sanguinary atrocities of Popish sovereigns, were still too fresh in the recollection of men to render this conversion of the heir to the crown a matter of indifference. The real spirit of Popery was then justly appreciated, and its long alliance with civil and religious bondage created, in the most enlightened patriots, the conviction, that the best security for liberty was to render belief in the Protestant faith essential in the prince who was to sway the sceptre of Britain. Schemes were accordingly formed to exclude the Duke from the succession. These schemes were so vigorously prosecuted, that it was found prudent to remove him for a short time from court, and it was hoped, that the legislature would so firmly demand a bill of exclusion, that the King would not venture to resist. Alarmed by the spirit displayed by his subjects, Charles prorogued the parliament, but the matter was resumed when it assembled in the following year, and the bill after much discussion, and in opposition to the whole influence of the crown, was passed by the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, however, it was rejected, the whole of the bishops voting against it. The rejection did not dishearten the party hostile to the Duke, and his Majesty determined upon an adjournment. This was done, but not before the Commons had voted that whosoever advised the King to prorogue the parliament for any

1681. July.

1679.

1680.

10th Jan.

other purpose than in order to passing a bill for the exclusion of James Duke of York, is a betrayer of his Majesty, of the Protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France. This decisive language sufficiently shewed the temper of those by whom it had been used, and in a few days after the adjournment, parliament was dissolved. 1681.

Charles, in his adherence to his brother, evinced a firmness, which upon no other occasion he had manifested, and, trusting that he might yet accomplish his object, he called a new parliament to meet at Oxford. The most strenuous efforts were made by both parties to strengthen themselves for the approaching contest. The King was anxious and alarmed; the advocates for exclusion were confident of success; and, in this state of factions, parliament was opened by a speech from the throne. The 21st March. Commons immediately entered upon the business of exclusion; they rejected all the expedients proposed for securing the religion of the kingdom under a 28th Mar. Popish sovereign; the bill of exclusion was read with almost universal approbation, and his Majesty in despair again dissolved parliament. From this time, he not only reigned without the assistance of the great Assembly of the nation, but with a tyranny, to which it is just matter of surprise, that a people, accustomed to the constitutional language of the legislature, could quietly submit. *

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 714—723. Burnet's

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1681. July. Views of the Court with respect to it in Scotland.

From a Scotish parliament, Charles hoped for a tame acquiescence in his views; and it appeared to him and his counsellors, that if the succession of the Duke to the crown of Scotland should be voted by the estates of that kingdom, the party for exclusion would be weakened, and moderate men, deterred by the apprehension of civil war, would cease to urge a measure by which so awful a calamity would be entailed on the kingdom.

Duke of York appointed to preside in the Scotish Parliament.

The Duke of York was appointed to represent his Majesty in the meeting of the estates, and although some ventured to object to the appointment, no serious opposition was attempted; a decisive proof that, in a kingdom which, from the introduction of the reformation, had been guided by the utmost antipathy to Popery, and the most ardent attachment to the Protestant religion, the nobility and the landed proprietors were prepared to sacrifice to the wishes of the King all for which they and their ancestors had so nobly and successively struggled.

Act of succession.

Upon the assembling of the estates, a short statute, ratifying all former laws for the security of the protestant faith, was passed, to prevent the alarm which the next statute must else have excited. In this statute, entitled "an act, acknowledging and asserting the right of succession to the imperial

History of his own Times, Vol. II. under 1679, 1680, 1681. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 249—251. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 60—68. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. 568—570, and 587—590.

crown of Scotland," the doctrine of the divine right of kings having been asserted, it was enacted, "that none could alter or interrupt the rule of succession to the crown, by which it descended to the lineal heir of the deceased monarch, without involving the subjects of the kingdom in perjury and rebellion; —that no difference in religion, or no law or act of parliament, made or to be made, can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent of the crown, or can stop and hinder the successor in the full, free, and actual administration of the government, according to the laws of the kingdom." The act concluded, by pronouncing all who endeavoured to alter the succession, or who designed to alter it, guilty of treason.

Thus did the Scotish parliament not only consent that a Popish prince should fill the throne, and that the whole constitution should in fact be subverted, but it seemed solicitous that such an event should take place. When we consider all the circumstances under which the act was framed, the bigotry of the Duke, and his arbitrary principles, it is impossible too severely to condemn it, and impossible not to lament that no attempt was made to imitate the example which in England had been exhibited. Even had the dangers of popery been so far distant, as almost to have been forgotten; and had the Duke rendered himself conspicuous by his humanity, and his zeal to meliorate the condition of the people, the statute would still have been a mean

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surrender of what it should have been the pride of Scotchmen sacredly to preserve.

1681. Aug. Decay of patriotism in Scotland.

Patriotism, indeed, appears at this time to have forsaken Scotland. In the present state of national feeling, and with those sentiments of freedom and of independence cherished by the British constitution, it is difficult to conceive that an assembly of the nation should have met, without adverting to the long period which had elapsed since it was dissolved; without remonstrating against the oppressive power assumed by the council, the unwarrantable license given to the military, and the vexatious proclamations, which involved in the same danger the innocent and the guilty, which destroyed the confidence of social life, and authorized having recourse to torture, to compel unfortunate men to accuse themselves or their friends, and often to be guilty of perjury; and without reprobating the perversion of justice, and the shameful invasion of property, under pretext of exacting fines for unproven delinquency. Yet no allusion seems to have been made to all this, so disgraceful to the kingdom, and presenting so sad a contrast to the virtuous efforts of a former generation to circumscribe the prerogative; or, if the few patriots, who must with heavy hearts have contemplated the degradation of the estates, did speak the language of better times, their feeble voice was disregarded; for an act was passed, sanctioning proceedings against nonconformists, even more detestable than those which have yet been recorded. By

this act, the persons attending conventicles were placed at the mercy of men rewarded for calumniating or proscribing such as were obnoxious to the government; proprietors were required instantly to eject from their farms the tenants who were denounced; and as intercourse with those who were thus branded was prohibited, they were in fact delivered up to famine, or exposed to misery and death. His majesty was also authorized to create new courts, and to appoint additional magistrates, for proceeding more certainly against those who did not conform; a power which could not fail to be abused; and, by another act, it was declared, that by himself, or any commissioned by him, he might decide upon every cause to which he was pleased to advert. The statute inflicting punishment upon those who attended conventicles, was entitled "an act for securing the peace of the country," an object which it was calculated to effectuate, only by the extermination of all who were not bowed down under the vile and capricious despotism which it strengthened and confirmed.

The Test.

But the most memorable act of this parliament was that which respected a test for preserving the purity of religion. Submissive as the legislators of Scotland had become, they still felt attachment to the reformed faith; and it had been found necessary to assure them, that, if they passed the act of succession, this faith should be preserved inviolate. The mode in which the promise was fulfilled was

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most singular. To the Duke the promise itself was in the highest degree offensive; but, unable to prevent it, he conjoined with the act to which it gave rise a requisition of passive obedience; and it was accordingly ordained, that all in offices of trust, all who were elected to serve in parliament, or who had right to elect, all who held any situation in the church, in the army, or in the law, in short, all who should be required by the executive power, should take an oath, that they sincerely professed the true Protestant religion,—that they would constantly adhere to it,—that they renounced all tenets, popish or fanatical, which were hostile to it,—that they recognized the King as supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, civil or ecclesiastical,—that they would never consult or determine upon any subject relating to the church or the state, without his express permission,—that they held it unlawful to form associations for redressing grievances, or to take up arms against the King,—that they would never attempt any alteration in the political or ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom,—that they would never decline his Majesty's power and jurisdiction, but would defend them against all by whom they were opposed,—and that they took the oath in the plain genuine sense of the words, without any equivocation. Such an oath, no man, who had not made up his mind for slavery, could swear. It laid him under an obligation quietly to bear the insults of oppression, and it bound him to

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acquiesce in the overthrow, by royal authority, of that reformed faith which it was intended, professedly at least, to secure; for he acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch, according to the interpretation which, under the sway of the Duke of Lauderdale, had been put on it, and pledged himself not to join in any measures for disputing what the King might wish to accomplish.

Another part of the test was not less remarkable. When it was resolved to protect the Protestant religion, it was thought proper to refer to some standard by which this religion was fixed, and the Earl of Stair, probably with the design of rendering the act abortive, or inclining government not to press it, suggested that the first Confession of Faith, formed by Knox, and those who were associated with him, should be considered as that standard. This confession, though drawn up with much ability and moderation, had been superseded by the Westminster Confession, which the bishops continued in the church; it was in consequence known to very few; the prelates themselves had never read it; and yet almost the whole community were compelled to profess before God, that they would adhere to it all the days of their lives. This would have been a sufficient objection to the oath; but the fact was, that the adoption of this summary of belief rendered the oath contradictory; for in that summary, the duty of repressing tyranny was expressly asserted, and those limitations of the su-

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preme power, which, in every enlightened country, should be steadily kept in view, were most strenuously enforced. He, therefore, who took the oath, really swore that he would, and that he would not, resist the sovereign, if he became an oppressor, and the whole was thus a snare which every conscientious man wished to avoid. The act, notwithstanding what has been stated, was passed, the all only by a small majority; and one part of it, which exempted from its operation the brothers and sons of the King, was, by the Earl of Argyll, warmly opposed, upon this strong ground, that the faith of the monarch was of infinitely more moment to the tranquillity and the happiness of the nation, than that of any of his subjects. The bishops, eagerly supported the act, because, without taking the trouble to examine the Confession of Faith, they believed that the test would infallibly prevent the efforts of the presbyterians to undermine the hierarchy. *

Many refuse to take the test.

When the test was seriously examined, many were filled with astonishment that any thing so absurd should have been imposed. Several of the established clergy were reluctant to assent to all the propositions of the confession; they condemned

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament under third Parliament of Charles II. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 189—197. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 329—332. Short Memorial, &c. p. 16, 17. Hind let Loose, p. 173, 174. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 71, 72. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 725. Analysis of the first Confession of Faith in the History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II. Chap. xvii.

the complete subjection of the church to the King; they were struck with the political inconsistency of the oath; and they objected to pledge themselves that they would make no alterations in the ecclesiastical constitution, which was still far from having attained the form, which, as a permanent system, it was desirable that it should assume. They accordingly published the reasons of their being dissatisfied, and the opposition was conceived to be so formidable, that an explanation, suggested by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and which was afterwards converted into an act of council, and was approved by the King, was adopted to remove the scruples which were entertained. The explanation did certainly take away many of the objections, but, unhappily, it was totally inconsistent with the test itself, and it was justly urged, that no power, but that which imposed an oath, could alter the sense, which, according to fair interpretation, was to be affixed to it. Although, therefore, some declared that they were satisfied with the explanation, nearly eighty of the most respectable and enlightened of the clergy remained in their original sentiments. They were, in consequence, driven from their parishes, and, having taken up their residence in England, were, in that country, through the interference of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, provided with benefices. * 1681.

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 198—204. Burnet's History of his own

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1681. The lay part of the community shewed no less decidedly their aversion to the test. The Duke of Monmouth, who was requested to take it, availed himself of his not being in Scotland, the act authorizing imposition only on those who resided within the kingdom. Several noblemen and gentlemen gave up their offices, and the council removed all who hesitated to comply. *

Trial of the Earl of Argyll.

But the most important circumstance connected with the test, has yet to be recorded. The Earl of Argyll, before the expiration of the time specified in the act, was called to take the oath, but he revolted from what he justly considered as incompatible with honour and with religion; and he declared, that he could take it only if he were permitted to

Nov. add his own explanation of its meaning. To this the Duke consented, and Argyll, in presence of the council, stated that he had considered the test, and was desirous to give obedience to it as far as he could; that, believing that parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths, he would take the oath prescribed, in as far as it was consistent with itself, and with the protestant religion; but that he would not bind himself to refrain from endeavouring, in a lawful way, to support any alterations which did not interfere with his faith and

Times, Vol. II. p. 333—335. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 486, 487.

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 196, 197, and p. 224, 225. Short Memorial, &c. p. 17. Hind let Loose, p. 174.

his loyalty. He concluded by saying, that he considered the declaration which he had made as a part of his oath. The oath was then read to him, and he was invited to take his seat at the council-board. 1681.

Soon after, however, the scheme for his destruction began to be put in execution. He was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, and was charged with treason, for having assumed to himself the legislative power, by giving a meaning to a statute which parliament did not intend that it should bear, and by insinuating, that the design of the estates was to impose contradictory oaths. Grossly absurd as this accusation was, his trial was appointed. One of the judges, from bodily infirmity, could not attend to the pleadings, and retired; but the remainder being equally divided, this man was again brought into court, and joined with those who disgraced themselves by pronouncing the libel relevant, that is, by finding that the acts specified in the libel, were really the crimes which in it they were affirmed to be. The assize was then sworn, but, as Argyll refused to enter upon his defence, he was pronounced guilty. It has been affirmed, that nothing more was intended by this perversion of justice, than to compel Argyll to surrender certain superiorities in the Highlands; but most men believed that he would have been executed, and, under this impression, he made his escape in disguise, tarried for a short time in London, and then

8th Nov.

12th Dec.

CHAP. XXVI. 1681. went to Holland, where he joined the Earl of Stair, and Fletcher of Saltoun, who had taken refuge in that country from the oppression which they detested and deplored. *

1682. 5th March. Duke of York's administration approved by the Scotish Bishops. 9th March. In the beginning of the year, the Duke of York went to London, and, during his residence in England, there was a slight intermission of persecution. There was sent, about the time of his leaving Scotland, a letter, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and signed by seven of the Scotish bishops, in which they warmly approved his measures, and attributed to his zeal,—to the zeal of a professed enemy of the protestant religion,—the stability of their church. They declared, that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom were the effects of his prudent and steady conduct; that the humours of the wicked fanatics were much restrained from dangerous eruptions, by the apprehension of his vigilance; and they requested that the archbishop would make their dutiful acknowledgements to his Royal Highness for all his prince-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 204—217, and Appendix, p. 63—79. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 335—339. Short Memorial, &c. p. 17. Hind let Loose, p. 179. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 72—74. This writer erroneously represents the fate of Argyll as leading the nobles to consent to Act 18th of the Parliament respecting his Majesty's prerogative. That act was passed several months before Argyll's condemnation. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 488, 489. I quote this writer here, because his narration shews the effect of prejudice in giving a colour to facts. He calls Argyll presumptuous, for

ly favours to them, giving him the firmest assurance of their sincere endeavours to serve him. *

1682. March.

It is impossible to read the letter, without condemning those by whom it was written. They could not be ignorant of the religious sentiments of the Duke; they could not be ignorant how much the exemption which he had procured from taking the test, so iniquitously pressed upon others, had shocked all sincere protestants; they heard that many of their own brethren were dissatisfied; and it is not conceivable, prejudiced as they were, that they must not have shrunk from the cruelties which they had lately witnessed. Even if they had steeled their hearts to humanity, and considered it as right to violate every law of God, and every privilege of their fellow-creatures, for giving security to their order, they must have been aware that the duke was odious to the great part of the community; and the language, therefore, in which they expressed themselves with respect to him, and which, lest it should be concealed, they published and circulated, evinces how little they valued integrity, and how far they disregarded the suggestions of honour and of religion, provided they could gain the favour of a bigotted prince, who, with all

offering an explanation of the test, and considers his conduct as proceeding from a determination to rebel.

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 223, 229, and Appendix, No. 76, where the letter is inserted. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 340, 341, has mentioned an anecdote of the duke, when leaving Scotland at this time, shewing the harshness of his character.

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his faults, would scorn the adulation which was so indecently presented. *

1683. General account of the proceedings against the presbyterians.

After the details which have been already given, it will be sufficient to take merely a general view of the oppression to which, during this melancholy period, the protestant nonconformists were subjected. Human ingenuity seems to have been stretched to the utmost, to render deplorable the condition of the people of Scotland. Fines, reducing to ruin, were rigorously exacted; adherence to the dictates of conscience was considered as justly exposing to the fury of a licentious army; the test, which was at first designed as a qualification for office, was almost universally administered; and they who felt reluctance to load themselves with what they believed to be the guilt of perjury, were imprisoned, tortured, or put to death. Executions in violation of law and justice, occasionally horrified the nation, whilst murders were committed with impunity, provided the sufferers had laboured under the suspicion of what was contemptuously stated fanaticism, and was conceived to imply rebellion. Gloom was, by all these methods, cast over the people; the spring of independence was relaxed; despotism scattered its usual fruits, immorality and wretchedness; there was an apparent tranquillity, more dreadful than popular convulsion; and multitudes frequented the churches, execrating, in the house

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 341.

of God, and at the seasons destined for experiencing the consolations, and profiting by the lessons of religion, those iron-hearted men, who were contented that the essence of piety should evaporate, if the form of it was preserved. No hope from the future state of the kingdom alleviated this misery, for the successor to the crown was more dreaded than his unprincipled brother; many formed the desperate resolution of leaving their beloved country, and seeking, in another hemisphere, the freedom which in their own land they had so lately enjoyed. Some inquiries had been made for a settlement, and it was resolved to fix upon Carolina, if a proper situation could be obtained. * 1685.

Discontent in England.

Whilst disatisfaction was thus predominant in Scotland, a band of patriots in England entered into a correspondence with each other, for delivering the nation from the yoke under which it groaned. They determined to combine anew for excluding the Duke from the throne, and to extort, by the terror of insurrection, the concessions which their earnest solicitations to the King had failed to obtain. The situation of Scotland naturally led them to think, that many in that kingdom would gladly support measures, by the success of which they

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 341—346, and 363. Short Memorial, &c. p. 17, 18. Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 223—230, and under the whole of 1682 and 1683. M'Cormick's Life of Principal Carstairs, prefixed to some state papers, published in 1774.

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1683. June.

would be preserved from emigration; and a channel of intercourse was opened with them through Carstairs, whose subsequent fate has rendered him known to every reader of British history.

Rye-house Plot.

Intelligence of what was in agitation in England, reached the Scotish refugees in Holland; and they lost no time in signifying that they would contribute whatever they could, for giving success to a design in which they also were deeply interested. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon a plot, the particulars of which so many historians have fully detailed; it is sufficient to mention that it was detected, and that some of the noblest and most amiable of the King's English subjects, in consequence, suffered. They were condemned upon the charge, that they had planned the assassination of Charles and his brother; an idea which was perhaps entertained by some of the inferior persons who were connected with them, but which had never been proposed to such men as Russel, Sydney, and Argyll, who would have rejected it with the horror of honourable and virtuous minds. *

Whatever were the views of those who were en-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 331, and letter of Carstairs to Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 390. Life of Carstairs, prefixed to his state papers, p. 10—14. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 366—372. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 84—98. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 727—730. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 253, 254. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 490—492. Hind let Loose, p. 179.

gaged in what was denominated the Rye-house plot, the discovery of it answered the ends of the court, and afforded a pretence for adopting the most vigorous proceedings against all with whom it was dissatisfied. In Scotland the effect was soon woefully felt. A thanksgiving for his Majesty's escape was appointed, and the proclamation expressly ascribed the diabolical conspiracy to persons of atheistical, fanatical, and republican principles, thus shewing against what party the vengeance of the executive power would be directed. The situation of the kingdom became accordingly, after this time, more dreadful than it had been before. The Duke of York, to whom the government of it was entrusted, acted upon maxims which might have been expected to be cherished by the descendant of a family venerating the divine right and absolute authority of Kings, and by a prince desirous to involve Britain in the darkness of popish superstition. Law was disregarded,—a savage host of highlanders preyed upon the country, committing the most shocking massacres,—all were required to take the test,—the prisons were filled with the miserable wretches who were not at once butchered by those who apprehended them,—the royal mercy was displayed in permitting their banishment to inhospitable regions, and pestilential climates,—whilst the council gravely expressed, in an act, a kind of satisfaction that the *thummikins*, a new instrument of torture, had been invented, and enjoined that it

1683. Aug. Consequences of the plot.

7th Aug.

1684.

CHAP. XXVI. 1684.

should be exhibited with the boots, to appall or to mangle those from whom confessions were to be extorted. It would enlarge this work much beyond the bounds which have been prescribed to it, to dwell upon the enormities which, during the latter years of Charles, were almost daily perpetrated; enormities which it is impossible to palliate, and which all good men may safely admit to have warranted any attempt to subvert a government trampling upon the purposes of the social union, and delighting in cruelty, not exceeded in the annals even of oriental despotism. *

Spence and Carstairs tortured.

Two cases which excited much commiseration, will illustrate the account which has been now given. Spence, a confidential servant of the Earl of Argyll, and Carstairs, afterwards chaplain to the Prince of Orange, and a distinguished ornament of the Presbyterian church, had, upon the discovery of the plot, been apprehended in England. No evidence sufficient to criminate them could be obtained; and as they could not in that country be subjected to torture, they were sent, with some others in the same situation, to Scotland, in which it was not alleged that they had committed any crime, but where the most dreadful means could be employed to elicit the truth. Spence was first exposed to the cruelty of the judges before whom

25th July.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 331, 339, 347, and under the whole of 1684, with Appendix, Nos. 89, 90. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 420—422, and 424. Short Memorial, &c. p. 17.

he appeared. In consequence of an act of council, the torture of the boots was applied. He endured it without shrinking; and as no confession, throwing light upon the plot, was wrung from him, it was determined to vary his sufferings, in the hope that a prolongation of anguish would either overcome his resolution, or bewilder his judgment. The council accordingly ordered him to be delivered to general Dalziel, who was instructed to surround him with some of his most trusty soldiers, whose office it was to keep him from sleep by night or by day; a mode of torment said to be one of the most excruciating which the barbarity of man has devised. This inhuman treatment was continued for several days, but still nothing satisfactory was obtained, and it was resolved that his frame should be again lacerated. He was at length persuaded by his friends to discover all which he knew, as that would give no information which the agents of government did not already possess; and after stipulating that he should be no more tortured, and that his life should be spared, he declared that there had been designs for defence of the Protestant religion and of the liberties of the kingdom; and he gave a key for decyphering the names of those who corresponded with Argyll. Amongst this number was Carstairs, and he was therefore doomed to undergo similar sufferings. When he appeared before the council, he objected to any proceedings against him in Scotland, because he had not for

1684. 25th July.

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1684. 5th Sept.

several years resided in that kingdom, and because he was amenable to the laws of England which applied to the offence with which he was charged. This plea was disregarded, and no attention was paid to his assertion, that the infliction of torture was disgraceful to human nature. Some of those who heard him certainly believed so; for they were in the practice of withdrawing, that they might not behold the agony which it occasioned; but the duke himself, when he was present, looked on with the same insensibility as if he had been contemplating a physical experiment; and Lord Perth, who had been lately raised to the office of chancellor, ingratiated himself with him by imitating his inhumanity, and even apparently exulting over the anguish of the prisoners. *

When Carstairs refused to answer the questions which were put to him, an instrument of an improved construction (so it was described) was used, and his thumbs were pressed with such severity for above an hour, that he almost sunk under the agony of torture, the expression employed in an act of council, when alluding to his sufferings. An attempt was also made to apply the boot; but this, from want of dexterity in the executioner, was not carried into effect. On the following day he consented to give all the information which he could

* Burnet, in Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 424, has recorded the above anecdote of the Duke of York.

communicate, and this amounted to nothing more than what had been revealed by Spence. He solemnly declared, that though there had been plans formed for securing liberty and religion, he knew of no scheme against the persons of the King and the Duke. A garbled and unfair account of his confession was circulated; but, agreeably to the promises which had been made to him, he was released from confinement, and soon after permitted to leave Scotland. *

1684. Sept.

Notwithstanding all the violence of persecution which had been directed against the presbyterians, and the effect of that persecution in producing apparent conformity to the church, parties of armed men occasionally appeared, who were suspected of intending to hold conventicles. Against these men the most rigorous measures were adopted; the proprietors, upon whose grounds they were seen, were cited to answer for not communicating information, and were fined, as if they had been accessory to designs of plunging the nation into anarchy or rebellion. †

* Letter of Carstairs to Wodrow, in Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 386—394. Life of Principal Carstairs, prefixed to his State papers, p. 15—23. Dr M'Cormick, the writer of the life, and who was a relation of Principal Carstairs, mentions, that the instrument with which he was tortured was presented to him by the Privy council after the Revolution. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 424—427.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 343—315, and section third of chapter eighth of the third book in Vol. II.

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1684. Sept. Indulged ministers silenced.

About this time, too, the indulgence which had been given to some of the presbyterian ministers was withdrawn; they were prohibited from any longer preaching; they were required to grant bonds that they would not preach; and it was ordained that those who refused to do so, should be sent prisoners to Edinburgh castle, or be banished the kingdom.

Apologetical declaration.

Harsh and unwarrantable as these proceedings were against men, who, though they could not conform to the church, had, under all their calamities, preserved their loyalty, and, under the most trying circumstances, discharged the duties of faithful subjects, they were light and merciful compared with the cruelty exercised towards the Cameronians, or, as they were called by themselves and their friends, the society people. They had already, as has been mentioned, renounced their allegiance, and they were in consequence driven from the society of their fellow-creatures; they were placed without the protection of law; a hue and cry was raised against them wherever they were discovered; the military were authorized, without any trial or proof of guilt, to wound or kill them; the houses to which they could be traced, were surrendered to pillage; and even when they sought security in the recesses of forests, or in caves which they dug for concealment, the inveteracy of their enemies pursued them, and life to them was deprived of every comfort. Neither were they permitted to leave a country which

had disowned or proscribed them, for flight was prohibited, and they were hunted with the ferocity with which savages follow the wild beasts of the desert. Driven at length to frantic despair, and horrified at the prospect of cold and nakedness and hunger, which, at the commencement of winter, was opening to them, they formed the desperate resolution of working upon the fears of their countrymen, and of thus obtaining a suspension of the inhumanity under which they were perishing. They affixed in the night, to the doors of the parish churches, what they denominated their apologetical declaration, in which they again abjured Charles Stuart as a merciless tyrant, and declared war against all who promoted what they styled his wicked and hellish designs. Disowning the principle, that they might kill those who differed from them, as detestable, and contrary to the word of God, they announced their determination of punishing, as they could, those who lay in wait to murder such as had only in view to promote the covenanted work of reformation, and in the most affecting manner, they enumerated the methods employed to harass and exterminate them. *

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1684.

8th Nov.

Nothing can more strikingly shew the wretched state to which Scotland was reduced, than this sin-

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 429, and Appendix, No. 99. Hind let Loose, p. 177. Short Memorial, &c. p. 18, 19, the author of which places before his readers a dreadful picture.

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gular paper, and the manner in which it was published. Although the framers of it rejected with abhorrence the idea of assassination, and proposed to avenge themselves only on those who were proved to have conspired against them, it is evident, that, in the agitated state of the passions which then existed, the most shocking scenes would have taken place; that all security would have been destroyed, and that the dread of speedy mysterious destruction would have haunted every breast. The Cameronians could not imagine that, as a body, they could openly contend with the King's troops, they proceeded therefore upon the idea, that the fear of danger, which no precaution could avert from those who exposed themselves to it, would induce numbers to abstain from the galling oppression which they had hitherto promoted; and it is difficult to conceive how extensively the most agonizing feelings must thus have been excited.

30th Dec. King's proclamation.

Culpable as the government had been, it could not, without shewing a weakness which would have endangered its stability, pass over this outrage, and a proclamation was soon issued, in all respects one of the most remarkable preserved in the history of civilized nations. After stating the substance of the apologetical declaration, it announced that all who acknowledged that paper, or refused to disown it, should be tried and executed; it commanded every person to concur in apprehending such as owned this declaration, and it required that, as they

who did adhere to it lurked in secret, and were known only by their dreadful assassinations, the whole subjects of the realm who travelled, should be furnished with certificates of their loyalty. The certificates consisted of an oath, that they disavowed the obnoxious paper, and of an attestation by a magistrate, that the oath had in his presence been taken. Every proprietor was ordered to produce lists of the people living upon his estate; they who were absent were allowed a few days to return; but if, at the expiration of the time, they did not appear, they were to be held as fugitives, their goods confiscated, and their families seized for transportation. All who were not active in affording assistance to the magistrates, were to be considered as concurring with the rebels; and all his Majesty's lieges, particularly innkeepers, and persons occupying any description of houses of public resort, were forbidden to receive any guest, till he had produced his certificate of loyalty, and were empowered to exact an oath from those whom they suspected, that their certificates were not forged. The proclamation concluded, by offering a reward for the discovery of those who had been in any way accessory to the declaration. *

* Wodrow's history, Vol. II. p. 439, 440, and Appendix, No. 100, where the proclamation is inserted. Short Memorial, &c. p. 19, 20. Hind let Loose, p. 177, 178. See the conclusion of the Cloud of Witnesses, where there is an account of some who suffered for adhering to the declaration.

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Instead of solely directing procedure against the really guilty, this act vested in the agents of government, or in the persons specified in it, an arbitrary power which could not fail to be abused; it warranted the administration of oaths which, from not being sufficiently precise, many who were innocent might scruple to take; it enabled every man to gratify his hatred, by calumniating or accusing the objects of it, and laid the whole community under restraint, inconsistent with private comfort, and with national improvement. And when it is recollected, that permission had previously been given to the military to murder in cold blood all who hesitated or refused to answer the questions which violent or capricious men might put to them, a juster notion will be formed of the sad situation of Scotland than could be conveyed by the most eloquent and pathetic description. *

Death and character of Archbishop Leighton.

From the feelings which would have been excited in his amiable mind by such measures sanctioned by his brethren, one venerable prelate, who had been the brightest ornament of the Scotish episcopal church, was happily saved; for Leighton, whose memory is entitled to the veneration of good men in all ages, was, in the course of this year, removed from the world. He had, even from the period of his consenting to accept a bishopric, been shocked with the manner in which the hierarchy was sup-

May or June.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 433, and 439. Short Memorial, &c. p. 20.

ported. After he failed in accomplishing that scheme of accommodation, endeared to him from his conviction that it would have restored harmony to contending sects, he insisted upon resigning the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, to which he had been raised, and, regardless of the earnest entreaties of men in power, and of the friends who admired his gentle and Christian deportment, he laid aside his dignity, and retired to a sequestered situation in England, where he spent the last ten years of his life, dividing his time between study and the exercise of the purest devotion and most active benevolence. To his native country he often directed his thoughts, and he would gladly have returned to it, had he believed that his presence would be useful; but he had every year more cause to rejoice that he had withdrawn from it, and preferred the serenity of a private station to eminence which he could not have enjoyed. He had come to London, in the hope of making some impression upon Lord Perth, who, departing from the better principles of early days, had become the tool of a cruel and a bigotted government. The archbishop, though then far advanced in life, preserved the appearance of health and vigour; but he felt the indications of rapid decay, and in a few days he was cut off, dying in an inn, the place in which he had often said that it was most desirable to terminate our earthly existence. Of his piety, his disinterestedness of spirit, his beneficence and attachment to

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religion, every incident of his life affords striking proof. His resigning his high station put it beyond a doubt, that he had no insidious or mercenary views in proposing the modifications of ecclesiastical polity which he suggested; and it is only to be lamented, that he should have forsaken a church to which he was conscientiously attached, when there was so much need of virtues, like his, to counteract the enmity with which it was regarded. *

Moderation of some of the Bishops.

Whilst a feeble tribute is thus paid to a prelate whom Christians of every denomination should delight to honour, it would be uncandid not to observe, that although it has been necessary to record, with unqualified condemnation, the sanguinary measures which the bishops suggested or approved, for compelling conformity, there were among their number some who, though less distinguished than Leighton, deserve to be remembered with respect. Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen, whilst he was too much under the influence of Sharp, was a virtuous man, guided by the gentle spirit of Christianity; and the striking fact that, in the northern districts of Scotland, there was little struggle between the

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 431—433. Burnet was present at Leighton's death, and the attachment which he always cherished for this prelate, exhibits his own character in a most amiable light. I have before collected testimonies, illustrating Leighton's character; but I cannot refrain from again regretting, that the presbyterian writers should have so studiously avoided enlarging upon his virtues.

contending parties of episcopalians and presbyterians, fully establishes, that the prelates who superintended these districts had acted with much moderation, and had given to those who differed from them all the toleration which they could extend to them. 1684.

The year commenced with the atrocities naturally resulting from the measures of government. The oath enjoined by the proclamation was administered to many, who neither understood its import, nor received any explanation of the purpose for which it was designed; property was confiscated, murders were committed, and numbers were dragged to execution. Even upon the slightest suspicion, recourse was had to torture. A father and mother having been denounced, fled, and left their family under the charge of a female domestic. This woman, although evidently innocent, was seized by the soldiers who were sent to apprehend the heads of the family, and she was carried to the nearest garrison, the infants whom she guarded being left unprotected. Although no crime was laid to her charge, she was ordered to take the oath. Having never taken an oath, she hesitated to comply, mentioning that she did not understand it, and was restrained merely by scruples of conscience. Upon this, lighted matches were placed between her fingers, and were kept there till the flesh was consumed. When this wanton barbarity was committed, she was dismissed. Numberless similar cases are preserved in the annals of this period, abundantly

1685. Severe measures in consequence of the proclamation.

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manifesting, that whatever was the speculative purity of the constitution in the time of Charles, Scotland was reduced to the lowest point of civil depression. *

Death of Charles II. 6th Feb.

These cruelties received a momentary interruption by the death of the King, who expired in the beginning of February, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His constitution, and his mode of life, render the account of his having died from an attack of apoplexy highly probable; but the critical period of his dissolution, when he was meditating a change of measures, and when he was in a great degree alienated from his brother, combined with some suspicious appearances in the body, led many to conjecture, and to assert, that poison had been administered.

His character.

The character of this monarch, a review of his reign renders it easy to appreciate. Loose in his principles, dissolute in his practice, and destitute of any deep religious impressions, his life was not only vicious, but he was the patron of that licentiousness in morals which disgraced the nation. This activity in disseminating corruption was feebly compensated by an affability of deportment, which at first delighted all who approached him, but which soon lost its charm, when it was discovered to be merely a veil

* Short Memorial, &c. p. 20. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 455. —459. Mr Fox, in his history, states, that the British constitution attained to its utmost purity in the time of Charles II.

cast over insincerity and ingratitude. Exposed in early youth to severe adversity, he was unexpectedly called, by the general voice of the people, to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and he was thus furnished with an opportunity of gaining the affections of his subjects, which rarely falls to the lot of a sovereign. Had he consulted the happiness, and guarded the liberties of those over whom he ruled, —had he, in his own conduct, exhibited the decency which a monarch should scrupulously preserve, —had he countenanced virtuous men, and moderated the bigotry which led to the most dismal persecution,—the enthusiasm with which he was received at the restoration would have been converted into loyalty, founded on the gratitude and esteem which are the best supports of a throne. But he had no steadiness, and no just views of the duties which he had to perform. He had early imbibed the arbitrary maxims of his family,—he had not the dignity essential for upholding his kingdom in the opinion of foreign nations,—his connection with the French sovereign indicated a mind lost to the best feelings by which it should have been influenced, and his reign was mean, disgraceful, and tyrannical. CHAP. XXVI. 1685, Feb.

In Scotland, from the period of his arrival in Britain to sway the sceptre till his death, he gave his support to oppression more dreadful than in that kingdom had ever before been experienced; and when this was conjoined with his oaths and declarations after his father's execution, all of which

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had been carefully recorded, and were not allowed to be forgotten, he was regarded, except by the party which took shelter under the prerogative, with the most deep-rooted abhorrence. He found that the unworthy course which he had followed did not promote his felicity, for the end of his days was embittered by reflections which ruined his temper, and blasted his enjoyments; a fact which may convey to those who sit upon a throne this most interesting lesson, that the happiness of a monarch is identified with the freedom and the attachment of his people.

Strenuous and unprincipled as were his attempts to produce conformity to the established religion, Charles himself felt for that religion no reverence. Surrendering his youth to the most debasing intemperance, he, like many infatuated by vice, clung to infidelity, as exempting him from moral restraint; but always partial to the popish faith, he made, before he was recalled to Britain, a careless profession of it. Although this was not extensively or certainly known, it was suspected, and the suspicion was confirmed by the whole tenor of his administration, and by his conduct to the Duke of York, who was avowedly a papist. When, on his death-bed, the King gave to the protestant bishops who surrounded him, no proof of religious faith; he declined taking the sacrament, and he was little affected by their exhortations; emitting only a solitary declaration that he hoped he would climb to heaven. To

Huddlestone, a popish priest, he acted in a very different manner; for he not only received from him the consecrated wafer, but he expressed feelings of devotion and of attachment to Christianity, not to be expected from the levity with which he had been accustomed to speak of sacred subjects, and from the neglect of piety which he uniformly shewed. CHAP. XXVI. 1685. Feb.

He must, upon the whole, be considered as a profligate man and a bad sovereign; as having contaminated the morals of his people, sanctioned the most arbitrary measures, and contributed, as far as was in his power to do so, to lower the national dignity, and to debase the national character. *

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p: 456—470. Welwood's Memoirs, quoted by Rapin, Vol. II. p. 734, 735. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 116—118. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 470. Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 269, 270. Fox's History of the early part of the reign of James II. p. 58—67. A brief account of particulars occuring at the happy death of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles II. in regard to religion, faithfully related by his then assistant, Mr John Huddlestone. This singular document is subjoined to a pamphlet, entitled, "A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church," published at London 1688. The relation of Huddlestone is confirmed by a very interesting letter from Barrilon, the French Minister, who took an active part in the business, to his Master, Louis the XIV. This letter is printed in the Appendix to Mr Fox's History, p. 11—15. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 904.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVENTH.

Accession of James to the Throne....Sentiments with respect to it....The King's views....Proceedings in Scotland in consequence of his Accession....Sufferings of the Presbyterians continued....Parliament....Invasion by the Earl of Argyll....His Execution....Sufferings of many unhappy men in the Castle of Dunnotar..... Revocation of the Edict of Nantz....Relaxation of Persecution in Scotland.

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1685. 6th Feb. Accession of James to the throne.

UPON the death of Charles, the Duke of York was proclaimed King, and, notwithstanding the zeal which had been displayed to procure his exclusion from the throne, not the slightest opposition was made to his succession. The proclamation indeed was heard with profound silence, but addresses were immediately framed, congratulating his Majesty upon assuming the crown, declaring how much cause of gratitude this event afforded, and endeavouring to sooth and conciliate him, by promising the most abject submission to his royal pleasure. *

* Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 4—6. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 742. Relation to King James, by the Earl of Balcarras, p. 2. Fox's History of the early period of the reign of James II. p. 73.

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But this servile adulation could not conceal the real sentiments of the people; the stern despotism which had marked the concluding years of the last King's reign, was known to have been guided or suggested by his successor, and little doubt could be entertained that he would, when he had obtained the sceptre, act upon the arbitrary principles to which he had been decidedly attached. His zeal for popery, which had also given a complexion to his brother's government, inspired the apprehension, that he would endeavour to exterminate the protestant religion. In Scotland, these fears were not disguised, and the zealous friends of the reformation, whilst they looked forward with the most painful apprehension to new trials, were determined to contend, with undaunted firmness, for those tenets which they considered as their most valuable inheritance, and as the best, or the only security for the preservation of civil liberty. *

Sentiments with respect to it.

James was not ignorant of the light in which he was regarded, and he embraced the earliest opportunity of making a declaration of his intentions, with regard to his kingdom. Alluding to the persuasion that he was a friend to arbitrary power, he assured the council, that he would endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, and that, whilst he would never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the crown, he would

The King's views.

* Burnet, Vol. III. p. 25. Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 455, 471.

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go as far as any man, in preserving the just rights and liberties of the nation. *

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This speech was assiduously circulated, and all who were desirous to ingratiate themselves with the court dwelt upon it, as exhibiting, in the most favourable light, the good dispositions of the King; they even did not hesitate to affirm, that it afforded a better security for the preservation of the constitution, than could have been derived from an act of the legislature. †

Yet no great discernment was required for perceiving that the speech so highly extolled was most ambiguous, and there can be no doubt that, when it was delivered, the King was determined to remove all limits to the prerogative, and to introduce his own religion. It has been indeed asserted, that the latter was only a secondary object, and, in support of this, it has been urged, that he not only declared his resolution to support the protestant church, but employed men whom he knew to be zealously attached to that church. Yet it is evident, that, even had the re-establishment of popery been his chief object, he could not, unless he had been bereft of reason, have acted differently. To have at once avowed his resolution to root out the

* Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 741. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 470. Fox's History, p. 74, 75.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 5. The common phrase was, Burnet tells us, we have now the word of a King, and a word never yet broken.

established faith, he must have been sensible, would have subverted his throne. He knew that, amidst the slavish professions of passive obedience, the temper of the nation was decidedly protestant; he had been warned by some of those most willing to enlarge the prerogative, that they could not assist him if he attacked the church, a warning founded upon their conviction, that no monarch could resist the popular fury that would thus be excited. His design obviously was to acquire the power of removing from every important situation those whom he dreaded, and when he had thus guarded himself against intrigue and insurrection, gradually to sap the ecclesiastical edifice which he dared not to storm. The whole history of his reign proves that he had never sunk bigotry in ambition; but this will be most strikingly evinced, when we trace the policy which he followed in Scotland. *

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On the tenth of February, intelligence of the King's death was received in that kingdom, and a copy was sent of the proclamation, announcing the Duke's accession to the throne. He was, on the same day, proclaimed King, by lawful and undoubted succession and descent; and a pledge was given by those who issued the proclamation, that they would dutifully serve him with their lives and fortunes, as their only righteous King and Sovereign over all

10th Feb. Proceedings in Scotland in consequence of his accession.

* Fox's History of the early period of the reign of James II. p. 78, and 102—104. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 25, 26. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 751.

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persons and in all causes, holding his imperial crown from God alone. Language more submissive it is difficult to conceive. He is here held forth as holding his high station by divine right, and as, in consequence, entitled to claim unconditional obedience. In England, he was required to take the coronation oath, which made provision for maintaining the fundamental principles of the constitution; and although it was insinuated, that some clauses were softened to render it more acceptable to the King, still its essential nature could not have, with safety, been changed. But the Scotish council asked from him no security; they relied upon his royal word more implicitly than his English courtiers; and he in fact never took the oath which his predecessors, when they ascended the throne of Scotland, had never omitted to swear. *

Sufferings of the presbyterians continued.

2d March.

To give to the people some hope that the change in the person of the sovereign would alleviate the severity with which all who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the prelates, or to the government, had been persecuted, an indemnity was published; but it was framed in such a manner as must have irritated the great body of those in whose favour it professed to be issued. It began by extolling the unparalleled clemency of the administration of the late King,—words which would be duly ap-

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 471, and Appendix to that Volume, No. 102.

preciated by men who under it had been deprived of the comforts which should not be denied to the worst of criminals; who were mourning over the friends who had been taken from them; who had perhaps themselves been doomed to the excruciating agony of torture, or who had seen it undergone by those whom they revered and loved. But the chief movers and most active instruments of nonconformity were expressly shut out from the advantage of the indulgence; for pardon was extended only to those who were under the degree of heritors, wadsetters, liferenters, burgesses of royal boroughs, and vagrant preachers: so that the number who could be benefited by it was inconsiderable, whilst it was in the power of the agents of government to punish all whom caprice, or private resentment, or ebullitions of passion, led them to regard as fit examples for inspiring terror into the community. *

If, however, notwithstanding the cautious language of the act of indemnity, it was believed that the state of the kingdom was to be amended, that belief was soon dissipated. The same murderous system, which before the death of Charles had excited horror, was continued; the proceedings of the inquisitorial courts which had been established, were sanctioned, and new instructions were given to these courts. Drummond, one of the generals

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 473, and appendix to that Volume, No. 103. Short Memorial, &c. p. 20.

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1685. 25th April.

who had executed the most sanguinary orders, received a commission to visit the southern and western parts of Scotland; to call and hold courts when he thought it expedient; to exact fines, and to inflict summary punishment upon all who had conversed with the rebels, had admitted them to their houses, or performed to them the most common acts of humanity; to call to his aid every person who might be useful; to take under his command a party of Highlanders to assist him; to order the standing forces, militia, and fencibles, in the different districts, to co-operate with him; and, in one word, to do whatever he thought requisite for preserving the peace of the kingdom. *

This in fact placed a great part of the country under military law, exposing it to all the excesses and devastation to be expected from savage or undisciplined men, guided by passion, by the love of gain, or by the fury of ill-directed zeal. In the annals of the earlier part of this year are to be found the names of many, who, without a trial, without even having an opportunity of urging any thing in their defence, were barbarously murdered; and one case, particularly shocking, it may not be uninteresting to relate. Two sisters, the one eighteen, and the other thirteen years of age, were seized for refusing to take

May.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 474. Short Memorial, &c. p. 26. Walker's Vindication of Cameron, &c. p. 149.

the common oath, and were condemned. To them was added a woman above sixty, who had also refused the oath, and had embraced every occasion of listening to the proscribed ministers. Their sentence was, that they should be fastened to stakes within reach of the tide, and be permitted to remain till they were drowned. One of the young women fortunately escaped, and when the other two prisoners were brought to suffer, the eldest was placed farthest from the shore, that the contemplation of her fate might shake the firmness of her companion. A party of soldiers was stationed under the command of a Major Winram, to see the sentence carried into execution. The old woman perished, but the survivor was not intimidated, and when the water was surrounding her, she calmly occupied herself in the exercises of devotion. Her friends, deeply affected by her situation, implored that she would take the oath, and she was drawn to the land. To one who earnestly besought her to say God save the King, she answered, God save him if he will, for it is his salvation that I desire. They who heard these words exclaimed, that she had said what was required. Winram, however, was not satisfied, but insisted upon her repeating the precise words which were prescribed. She refused to do this, upon which she was again thrown into the sea, and soon expired. It appears from the records of the council, that the case of these women had been reported, and that there was an intention

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to save them; but either this intention was too late of being communicated, or if the persons who inflicted the punishment exceeded their powers, no attempt was made to bring them to justice. *

Parliament. 28th April.

The King announced his determination early to summon the Scotish parliament, and he appointed the Duke of Queensberry to act as his commissioner. When this nobleman waited upon James, after the death of Charles, he told his Majesty, that if he had any intention of changing the established religion, he could not give him any assistance. The King, for the reasons which have been mentioned, received the declaration with apparent satisfaction; assured him, that he had no such design; that he wished a parliament to be called, and him to preside; and that he would authorize him to give every assurance, that the protestant religion should be preserved. Lord Perth, who had not yet avowed his having become a proselyte to popery, was present, but he did not imitate the manliness of Queensberry, who, convinced that what he had dreaded would not take place, prepared in civil matters to gratify his sovereign. †

Upon the meeting of the estates, a letter from the King was read, disclosing the views of the court,

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. different sections of Chapter 9th, and particularly p. 506, 507. Short Memorial, &c. p. 21.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 25, 26. Crawfurd's lives of Officers of State in Life of Queensberry, p. 420, compared with Rapin, Vol. II. p. 747.

and the sentiments respecting the royal prerogative which his Majesty entertained. He informed them, that he had assembled them to give them an opportunity, not only of shewing their duty to him, but of being exemplary to others, in compliance with his desires; that nothing was so well calculated to secure to them their privileges and their properties, as aggrandizing his power and authority, which he was determined to maintain in their greatest lustre; and this he represented as peculiarly requisite, that he might defend their religion against fanatical contrivances, murderers, and assassins, by whom he meant the Cameronians, and all other presbyterians who might fall under his displeasure. After enlarging upon the criminality of these men, and pointing out the measures which he wished to be adopted against them, he enjoined the estates to do speedily what the present juncture rendered necessary.

This communication plainly shews, that it was the King's wish that Scotland should lead the way in compliances, which he dreaded would startle his other subjects; and his confidence in the disposition of those whom he addressed must have been great, when he had no scruple to tell them, that the best mode of defending the protestant religion was to enlarge the prerogative of a popish sovereign. His antipathy to the fanatical party was increased by their opposition to government, and he did not dissemble, that, notwithstanding his profes-

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sions of moderation, nothing could be more acceptable to him than that they should be persecuted or exterminated.

The Duke of Queensberry enforced the topics of the letter. He told the estates, that, to compose the minds of loyal subjects, he was allowed to assure them of his Majesty's princely resolution to protect and maintain the religion and government of the church, as they were established by law, and to take the persons and concerns of the regular clergy under his special care and protection. But whilst he thus conciliated the bishops, he made demands upon the loyalty of those to whom he spoke, which might have alarmed even the feeblest patriotism; and he, with much eagerness, pressed the extirpation of the fanatical sect, to whose turbulence and monstrous principles he attributed the evils with which the country had been visited. This preliminary notice of what would be agreeable to the King, was followed by a speech from Perth, the chancellor, who reminded them of their obligation to be grateful to their great monarch, and who expatiated, with much complacency, upon the easy and gentle means, by which, under the reign of the late prince, of blessed memory, the present sovereign had restored the unity which, before his arrival in Scotland, had been so sadly broken.

James had every reason to be gratified with the conduct of the parliament. After passing a short

act for securing the protestant religion, the members proceeded to make a declaration of duty, in which they said, that "they detested all principles and positions which were contrary or derogatory to the King's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority, which none, whether persons or collective bodies, could participate any manner of way, or upon any pretext, but in dependence on him, and commission from him." Having thus acquiesced in the slavery which they knew that the great body of their countrymen beheld with abhorrence, they gave their sanction to statutes subversive of the principles upon which government should rest. They enacted, that all who, having been cited as witnesses in cases of treason, field or house-conventicles, and church irregularities, refused to give evidence, should be liable to the same punishment as if they had been guilty of the crimes; that giving or taking the national covenant, writing in its defence, or owning its obligation, was treason; and that all who preached at conventicles, or were present at them, should be punished with death, and confiscation of goods. Not satisfied with these shameful acts, they approved of all, which, since the last meeting of parliament, had been done by the council, justice-court, or any commissioned by them, in banishing, imprisoning, or fining those who had declined taking the oath of allegiance; and farther required all subjects to swear the oath when they were commanded, and that under the

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1685. most grievous penalties. Various other statutes of the same complexion were passed, putting the character of the future reign beyond a doubt. An act was sanctioned for taking the test, and this was the only provision for supporting the protestant faith, whilst so many laws were directed against the presbyterians, its steady and conscientious defenders. The act was, in truth, nugatory, for it merely enjoined that the test should be taken by all protestants. A motion was indeed made, that it should not be limited to those of the reformed religion, as its great end was to exclude papists; but although this was supported by one of the prelates, who is entitled to the gratitude of posterity, the Bishop of Edinburgh, like a true courtier, resisted it, and the act was passed in the form acceptable to his Majesty. *

Invasion by the Earl of Argyll. May.

Whilst the parliament was occupied in promoting the views of a despotical monarch, and in giving sanction to the most infamous persecution, intelligence was received that the Earl of Argyll, with a small body of forces, had invaded the kingdom. This nobleman, from the moment of his escape, considered his allegiance as dissolved; he was im-

* Viscount Tarbet's Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament, published at Edinburgh, 1731. Vol. III. p. 3--33. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 515—529, and Appendix, No. 106, 107. Short Memorial, &c. p. 21—24. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 27. He mentions, Vol. III. p. 25, that the parliament met after the execution of Argyll, which is a mistake.

plicated in the Rye-house plot; and, when it failed, he continued steadily to keep in view the vindication of his own rights, and of the liberties of his country. The discontent of the Duke of Monmouth laid the foundation for new arrangements; and Argyll, whose zeal seems to have far exceeded his prudence, pressed the Duke to lose no time in invading England, whilst he himself raised the standard of revolt in Scotland. Without having made any preparation for so arduous and so important an undertaking, he sailed for the Scotish coast, and landed in Argyllshire, hoping to be joined by his own vassals, to whom he addressed a proclamation, and expecting that all who were mourning under oppression would be roused by the appeal which he made to the nation. His whole conduct rendered it apparent that he was not qualified to act as a general, and he soon found how erroneously he had estimated the assistance upon which he depended. The council early obtained the most accurate information respecting his intentions, and took the wisest precautions to render them abortive; whilst the people, stupified by tyranny, and probably convinced that success was hopeless, listened to him with coldness, and refused, in any considerable degree, to give him their support. He perceived, when it was too late, that the moment for invasion had not arrived; his scanty forces were dispersed, and, having been taken prisoner, he was brought in triumph to Edinburgh, where, upon his former

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sentence, he was soon executed. He prepared for his execution with that intrepidity, and that tranquillity of spirit, which virtue and religion so often and so naturally create. On the day upon which he was to suffer, he, according to his usual custom, slept after dinner, and, when he was enjoying the quietness of repose, one of those who had hastened his fate, was introduced to his chamber. The scene, so unexpected and so striking, overcame him; he rushed from the place, agonized by the feelings which had been excited in his breast. The fact has been preserved by Wodrow, the industrious and accurate historian of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland, and his simple narration of it is deeply affecting; but the circumstances have since been detailed with a genuineness of feeling, and with a warmth of virtuous emotion, which must produce upon every good mind an indelible impression.*

1685. 30th June. His execution.

A few who were taken with him were executed, but little blood was shed; and the conduct of government, from whatever motive it originated, may justly be represented as distinguished by a lenity

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 529—546. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 17, 18, and 21—23. Short Memorial, &c. p. 24, 25. Hind let Loose, p. 180, 181. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 747, 748. Fox's History of the early part of the Reign of James the Second, p. 163, 164, and 178—211. It is hardly necessary to mention, that it is to the account given by this distinguished statesman, of the tranquillity of Argyll at the approach of death, that I have above alluded.

which, from its former acts, could not have been anticipated. Yet the fate of Argyll, descended as he was from a family which, in the most perilous times, had espoused the cause of the reformation,—which had uniformly supported liberty,—and which strove to preserve the nation from the sufferings which marked its history after the recall of Charles,—strongly affected many who could not join his standard; and the revolting crimes which, after the defeat of Monmouth's invasion, were perpetrated in England, by men clothed with the authority of the sovereign, excited through Great Britain a degree of horror, which, opening the eyes of the people to the misery of despotism, and making them shrink from the fury of a bigotted enemy to their religion, led to those measures which ere long terminated in the Revolution. *

Sufferings of many unhappy men in the Castle of Dunnottar. 18th May.

The government, believing that the presbyterians were secretly friendly to Argyll, and afraid that they would declare for him, proceeded against all of them whom it had in its power with the most remorseless severity. They were ordered to be sent to the Castle of Dunnottar, a large fortified mansion in the county of Kincardine, upon the brink of the sea. About two hundred were suddenly taken from the prisons of Edinburgh, and, without being

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 546, 547. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 156, 157. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 23.

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permitted to hold any intercourse with their friends, or being told what was intended to be done with them, they were sent across the Forth to Brunt-island, and were crowded into a small apartment. Having for two days suffered the anguish of being exposed to a polluted atmosphere, an offer was made to them, that, if they would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, they should be set at liberty. All of them would cheerfully have testified their allegiance, but only a few, from the extremity of their misery, acknowledged the supremacy. They who did not were escorted by a party of militia to the north; and they were compelled to march with their hands tied behind them, as if they had been the most dangerous and abandoned malefactors. Every kind of indignity and cruelty was shewn to them. They were crowded into jails, when fatigue rendered an intermission of their journey necessary; and, on a dreadful night of wind and rain, they were forced, although worn out with what they had endured, to remain without shelter upon a bridge across the North Esk, now commonly called the North-water bridge. When they arrived at the place of their destination, they were thrust into a dark subterraneous vault, full of mire, and having only one small window; they were denied every comfort, having to purchase the scanty provisions which they obtained, and even to pay for the water with which they were supplied; whilst their guards treated them with the most shocking in-

humanity. They became, in consequence of all this, faint and decayed; and several of them, happily for themselves, were relieved by death. In a few days, about forty of them were removed into a smaller vault, but their condition was not improved. Into this vault the light entered only by a chink; but the walls being decayed, it was discovered that there was a current of fresh air at the foot of the building. To enjoy this, the prisoners stretched themselves on the damp ground, disregarding the consequences which would follow from obtaining such a luxury. The lady of the governor, who had come to see these unfortunate men, was moved with pity; and, at her intercession, let not the humane act be forgotten, they were lodged in apartments sufficiently ventilated. Driven to despair by tortures, of which death alone promised a termination, they attempted to escape. Above twenty succeeded, but those who were retaken underwent new sufferings. They were bound down to the floors of the dungeons in which they were confined, and, for several hours, burning matches were put in their hands to consume the flesh. Under this dreadful operation several of them expired. Intelligence of these enormities was conveyed to Edinburgh, and a representation was made to the council. This produced some relaxation in the treatment, for the council gave warrant that meat and drink, and other necessaries should, at easy rates, be allowed to the prisoners; and that, on account of the heat of the

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weather, they should be accommodated without throng, that their health might be endangered as little as possible. It was supposed that their patience and their fortitude would now be exhausted; and the Earls of Errol and Kintore were appointed to examine them, and ascertain who would take the test, and promise to attend in future their parish churches; but all of them refused the oath of allegiance, when combined with the supremacy, to which they could not, with a good conscience, assent. About the end of July, when the apprehension of rebellion was dissipated, they were brought to Leith; but a resolution was passed, that all who persisted in refusing the oaths, should be transported to the plantations. Many were accordingly torn from their native country; of these a great number died in their passage, and their companions were doomed to a fate much more deplorable in a foreign land. *

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 558—561, and 565—567. Short Memorial, &c. p. 20. Hind let Loose, p. 238—246. Walker's Vindication of Cameron, &c. p. 177. Walker was one of the persons sent to Dunnottar. In the church-yard of Dunnottar, a tomb-stone is erected to the memory of some of the unhappy men who died when confined in the Castle, upon which is the following inscription:—"Here lyes John Stott, James Atchison, James Russel, and William Brown, and one whose name wee have not gotten; and two women whose names also we know not; and two who perished comeing doune the rock, one whose name was James Watson, the other not known, who all died prisoners in Dunnottar Castle, anno 1685, for their adherence to the word of God, and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation." Rev. 11th Ch. 12th verse.

This melancholy account has been fully detailed, because, founded as it is upon unquestionable evidence, it shews that the great mass of the people of Scotland, was, at the period to which it refers, at the mercy of men who set law and humanity at defiance, and that the dissolution of all government could scarcely have brought with it greater evils than at that time existed. Such facts also enable us to appreciate the blessings which are now enjoyed in Britain, and suitably to venerate the patriotism of those intrepid men, who, finding remonstrance hopeless, and submission intolerable, restored the crown to a protestant sovereign, and founded upon this transference the free government which the revolution introduced.

Examples of tyranny no less revolting than the cruelty at Dunnottar, mark the annals of the year in which that cruelty was exhibited. Multitudes were forced into banishment, many of them after their persons had been disfigured by torture; several were wantonly murdered in the fields, Graham afterwards Viscount of Dundee, and his officers, apparently exulting in the wretchedness of the presbyterians. Under pretence that they had connived at the designs of Argyll, some of the best families were stripped of their possessions, and saw all the prospects upon which they had long dwelt blasted for ever. *

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 562—564. Short Memorial, &c. p. 20—25, and 35—38. Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 338—346. Hind let Loose, p. 234—246.

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Such events could not be contemplated by sincere protestants without anguish, and this anguish was not alleviated by what happened in other countries, for it was in the course of this year, that the revocation of the edict of Nantz took place in France, by which the professors of the reformed faith were exposed to the most violent persecution, and were forced to witness the awful sufferings of those whom they revered, or to seek, in other countries, a refuge from oppression. *

1685. Revocation of the edict of Nantz. Oct.

Relaxation of persecution in Scotland.

From this period, however, the prospect in Scotland becomes happily less gloomy, and the reader will soon escape from the painful narration which impartiality could not withhold. Although some instances of cruelty occur in the two following years, they were comparatively of little moment, and the system upon which government acted was, for the reasons now to be unfolded, most fortunately for the presbyterians, completely changed. †

Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 580—584. Introduction to a very interesting work, entitled Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, published in two volumes folio, at London, 1692. The author designs himself John Quick, minister of the gospel, London. Section 50th of the Introduction. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 54—61.

† Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 585. Short Memorial, &c. p. 25.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHTH.

Attempts in favour of Popery....Meeting of the English Parliament....Proceedings in the Scotish Parliament respecting Popery....The King dispenses with the Test, and annuls the penal Statutes.....Remarks....Scotish Council publish the Dispensing Proclamation....Indulgence to the Presbyterians....Manner in which it was received....Cameronians do not take advantage of it.... Established Clergy displeased with the Toleration.... Discontent in England....Application to the Prince of Orange....Scotish Council adheres to the King....Prince of Orange sails, but is driven back by a Storm....Letter to the King from the Bishops in Scotland....Arrival of the Prince of Orange....The Revolution....Proceedings in Scotland....Tumults....Episcopal Clergy insulted....Measures for the settlement of Scotland.... Views with respect to the Church....Advice of Carstairs....Effect of it....Convention of Estates....Claim of Right....King and Queen proclaimed....Prelacy abolished in Scotland....The moderation of the King counteracted by the Clergy....Ecclesiastical Regulations.... The King dissatisfied....Final settlement of the Church ....Explanation of the conduct of the Episcopal Clergy....Oath of Allegiance and Assurance....Resisted by the Clergy.....Firmness of Carstairs....Harmony restored....Conclusion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1685. Nov.

THE King having succeeded in enlarging the prerogative, began to unfold his scheme in favour of his religion. Disregarding the test, he appointed

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1685. 7th Nov. Attempts in favour of popery.

several officers in the English army whose principles were not concealed, and he commanded his council in Scotland, whilst they urged the test upon others, to exempt from it the persons whom he specified, and those whom he might hereafter mention. * The reason of this order all perceived; indeed, the surest way of being ingratiated with James was to apostatize from the protestant faith. This had been done by the Earl of Perth, and he was rewarded by the disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, which he had previously, in vain, attempted to accomplish. †

Meeting of the English parliament. Nov.

The parliament of England met in November, and public attention was anxiously directed to its deliberations; for, upon the stand which it now made, the preservation of the protestant church was conceived to depend. The King mentioned in his speech, that, in certain military arrangements, he had dispensed with the exactions of the test, and had employed officers, of whose loyalty he was well assured, adding, that he would not disgrace these officers, nor expose himself to being deprived of their services, in case another rebellion should render them necessary. Compliant as parliament had been, it would not surrender the religion of the kingdom. An address, aproaching to a remon-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 49. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 579.

† Burnet, Vol. III. p. 50—52. Cra[illegible]ives of Officers of State, p. 422.

strance, was framed; and when the King's indignant answer was returned, Coke, a member, whose name should never be forgotten, after silence had for a short time prevailed, rose, and said that he hoped that they were all true Englishmen, and would not be frightened from their duty by a few hard words. For this the house, eager to appease his Majesty, committed Coke to the Tower; but he had made a deep impression upon those who heard him; and James, finding that he could not gain his point, first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament. *

1685.

1686. April. Proceedings in the Scotish parliament respecting popery.

What had failed in England James believed that he would accomplish in Scotland. He accordingly ordered the estates of that kingdom to assemble; and his motive for doing so soon became universally known. Of the episcopal clergy, many were so warped with notions of the obligation of non-resistance to the supreme magistrate, and were so convinced that the stability of the hierarchy could be secured only by supporting the sovereign, that they felt the utmost reluctance to oppose his schemes; and allowing themselves to believe that he would never so far violate the solemn pledge which he had given, as to attack the protestant religion, they were not averse that concessions should be made to those of the same faith with himself. But there

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 752, 753. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 66, 71.

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1686. April.

were others of this body who saw the danger which threatened them in all its magnitude; who were convinced, that if, while the throne was filled by a bigotted popish monarch, the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics should be repealed, and every office of trust and authority laid open to them, the superstition of Rome, with all its intolerance, and all its slavish political maxims, would soon be restored. Laying aside, therefore, their enmity to the Presbyterians, they cheerfully joined with them in warning the people; and the synod of Aberdeen, in particular, addressed their diocesan, imploring him to stand firm in defence of the principles which the piety and the zeal of the reformers had, after many struggles, introduced. The effect of these representations, and of this union of the ministers, was to excite a spirit of resistance which seemed to have been extinguished; and it was ere long evident, that the King would not find in the estates the same compliance which, at their last meeting, he had so highly praised. *

29th April. The parliament met on the day appointed, and his Majesty was represented by the Earl of Murray, who had become a proselyte to popery. He delivered a letter from the King, artfully calculated to gratify those to whom it was addressed, and to insinuate the measure which it was designed to promote. After mentioning how much he was satisfied

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 752, 753. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 66—71.

with the proceedings of the former session, he enumerated several plans which he had adopted for advancing the commerce and the prosperity of Scotland. He announced, that, in order to shew his inclination to mercy, he had sent down to be passed, a full indemnity for all crimes committed against his royal person and authority; and he then dexterously passed to the subject, for which all that he had said was intended to prepare them. "Whilst we shew these acts of mercy to the enemies of our person, crown, and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named; them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end that, as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so, by your assistance, they may have protection of our laws, and that security under our government which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to be under obligations which their religion cannot admit. By doing whereof, you will give a demonstration of the duty and affection which you have for us, and do us most acceptable service." *

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 591, 592, and Appendix, No. 115, in which the whole of his Majesty's letter is given. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 87.

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This letter was followed by a speech from the commissioner, in which, with much smoothness, but great earnestness, he urged the repeal of the penal statutes. The parliament was certainly desirous not to offend the sovereign, but regard to religion triumphed over their tendency to submission, and they adopted a mode of procedure which saved the kingdom. Ross and Paterson, two of the bishops, argued in favour of the repeal, but some of their brethren acted a very different part. The Archbishop of Glasgow, with some timidity, opposed the measure; but the bishop of Galloway, though an old man, and the bishops of Dunkeld and of Ross, made a determined stand, and resisted all the methods which were employed to seduce them from their duty. Of the rest of the prelates, most, although they were silent, resolved to vote against compliance with the court, and a few did not attend; but it was apparent, that there was the utmost aversion to repeal the statutes, and that this aversion was founded upon conscience. In the answer to his Majesty's letter, though written with much caution, enough was said to shew what were the sentiments of those from whom it proceeded. Whilst the warmest thanks were returned to the King for all which he had done to promote the interests of the kingdom, whilst his clemency, in granting the indemnity, was extolled in language sufficiently courtly, they observed, "As to that part of your Majesty's letter, relating to your subjects

of the Roman catholic religion, we shall, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, and with tenderness for their persons, take the same into our serious and dutiful consideration, and go as great lengths therein as our consideration will allow, not doubting, that your Majesty will be careful to secure the protestant religion established by law." * 1686.

According to this pledge they proceeded, for the subject was discussed with the most commendable moderation. A committee was appointed to examine the laws in existence against papists. Many of these laws had been dictated by a spirit little consonant with the beneficence of Christianity, but it was found, that the most sanguinary of them had long ceased to be put in execution. All therefore agreed, that the papists should enjoy the protection of his Majesty's government, and should not be subjected to any punishment, for privately exercising their religion. No compromise however was made, which could endanger the protestant faith; for in the copy of the act which was prepared, the determination to adhere to that faith was explicitly declared, and it was enacted, that the statute respecting religion and the test, which the King was peculiarly desirous to set aside, should continue in full force, strength, and effect. Solicitations and threatenings were in vain employed to extort a law more agreeable to the wishes of the sovereign; and

* Answer of the estates of Scotland to his Majesty's letter. An Appendix to 2d Vol. of Wodrow's History, No. 115.

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1686. the commissioner, convinced that the proposed act would irritate his master, and would not promote his designs, abandoned the measure altogether. But before this was done, the fears and the hopes of the community had been deeply interested. The subject was agitated in private conversation, it was examined in various pamphlets assiduously circulated, and the effect was, not only that the government became odious, but that it was extensively believed that popery would, if possible, be forced upon the country. This belief was strengthened by the removal from their sees of those bishops who had resisted the court, to make room for men willing to overturn the reformed church, if the King should require its destruction, or who at least had not the virtue to avow that they would oppose that destruction. *

1687. What had happened in Scotland should have

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 593—596, and Appendix, No. 116 to 120. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 89, 90. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 167, 168. Keith's Catalogue under sees of Glasgow and Galloway. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 498, 499, and 503—505. This writer, with all his desire to vindicate James, did not approve of his dismissing the bishops. Balcarras, in his relation, p. 2, states, that the chief reason of opposition to the repeal of the penal statutes was, the fear of again encouraging the fanatics; but he evidently confounds the feelings of a future period with those which were entertained at present. The whole proceedings shew, that whatever were the sentiments of some of the episcopal clergy, the great object of dread at this time was, the introduction of popery. Compare with Balcarras, Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 555

convinced the King, that his scheme in favour of the adherents of popery could not with safety be prosecuted; but, with that contempt of popular opinion, and that attachment to despotism which distinguished his family, he resolved to do, from his own authority, what parliament had refused; that is, he assumed the power of changing the laws of the kingdom. He sent to Scotland a proclamation of indulgence, probably wishing, from its reception in that kingdom, to regulate his conduct in England. In this singular edict, after lamenting the evils which had arisen from differences of opinion with respect to religion, and expressing his earnest desire to unite in charity the hearts of his subjects, he granted, by virtue of his prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all were bound to observe without reserve, his toleration, under certain restrictions, to the different sects of Christians whom he specified. To cast a thin veil over his real design, it was necessary to represent this as a general act of favour, and accordingly he declared, that he tolerated moderate presbyterians, enjoining at the same time severe proceedings against conventicles; and that he granted indulgence to quakers. He then proceeded to state what were his resolutions with regard to Roman catholics. "By his sovereign authority, he suspended all laws or acts of parliament which had been made against them—he removed all pains and penalties, ordaining that they should in all things, and in all respects, be as free as his protestant subjects, not

1687. The King dispenses with the test, and annuls the penal statutes. 12th Feb.

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1687. Feb.

only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, and others, which he might think fit to bestow on them in time coming." He then dispensed with the test, substituting a new oath to be taken by all his subjects, by which they solemnly bound themselves never to resist his authority upon any pretence, or for any cause, and professed their belief, that taking up arms against him was unlawful. *

Remarks.

Whatever had been the object of this proclamation, it should have been reprobated by all who were not prepared to surrender the liberty of their country. It assumed the existence of power in the Sovereign, which nothing could controul, placing at his disposal the freedom, the lives, nay the thoughts of his subjects. There was not even that limitation of prerogative which the most despotic princes had readily admitted; for it was implied, that he might force conscience, and exact obedience to his commands, however repugnant to morality or religion. It in short required the surrender of whatever men, united in society, should most dearly value, while it obliged them to give their assent to their own degradation. But the measure which it was intended to enforce was most

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 615, 616, and Appendix to the volume, No. 129. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 186, 187. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 757, 758. Relation by Earl of Balcarras, p. 3. Hind let Loose, p. 183, 184. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 505.

pernicious. Had the penal statutes against the catholics been at this period repealed, all places of trust would have been given to them; the army would soon have been under their direction, and popery would have triumphed. Resistance to the King's schemes, therefore, was not intolerance; it was the soundest and most enlightened policy; it was a manly effort to preserve the purity of religion, and to cherish the noble spirit of liberty and of independence * The friends of the Romish faith were elated with the prospect now opening before them; priests and Jesuits were crowding into the kingdom; the consummation which they anticipated, they openly avowed; and the monarch himself, amidst his cold and hollow declarations in favour of the established religion, was gratified by the avowal. † 1687. Aug

Scotish council publish the dispensing proclamation. 18th Feb. 24th Feb.

The Scotish council, upon receiving the proclamation, ordered it to be published; but some of their number refused to sanction, by their presence, such a humiliating act. The majority, however, were determined to obey; and not satisfied with doing so, they returned an answer, in which, after inform-

* Some Reflections on his Majesty's Proclamation of 12th of February, for a toleration in Scotland, by Bishop Burnet, printed at London, 1689. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 137, 138. Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 615, 616. Hind let Loose, p. 190—208. Short Memorial, &c. p. 26.

† Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 606, 607, Burnet, Vol. III. p. 134, 136. Hind let Loose, p. 199. Short Memorial, &c. p. 26, 27.

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ing the King that they had executed his orders, they did not hesitate to assure him that he had, by the proclamation, given a farther evidence of his favour and goodness to all his subjects; they renewed their promise, that they would hazard their lives and fortunes in maintaining and asserting his prerogative; gave their humble thanks that he had pledged his royal word for support of the established church; and, to complete their servility, they added, that they believed his promise to be the best and greatest security which they could have. The Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Panmure and Dundonald, like honourable men, refused to prostitute themselves by subscribing the letter; but their example had no effect upon the rest, and the two archbishops, the guardians of the protestant faith, attached their signatures. *

But the act of the council was not the deed of the people; discontent was amongst them widely spread; and episcopalians and presbyterians viewed with apprehension the danger which hung over their country. The latter, however, the King hoped to gain; and for this purpose, after frequently extending the terms of indulgence, he at length permitted them, without molestation, to exercise religious worship in the manner which they thought was conformable to the word of God. †

Indulgence to the presbyterians. 5th July.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 616, and Appendix to that Volume, No. 131.

† Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 417, and Appendix, No. 134. Burnet,

It cannot be matter of wonder, that this deliverance from persecution, which had now continued for nearly thirty years, made a deep impression upon those to whom it was granted; or that, in the vehemence of their feelings, they, for a moment, overlooked the dangerous exertion of power to which they were indebted. Many of them thought it right to express what they felt; and they sent to the King an address of thanks, in which they acknowledged the gracious and surprising favour of not only putting a stop to their long and sad sufferings for nonconformity, but giving them the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of their ministerial functions. They also considered themselves as called upon to wipe away the aspersion of disloyalty. They intreated his Majesty to give no ear to such slander, so completely belied by their known principles; and they humbly besought him to look upon those who promoted any disloyal practices, as not belonging to their number, whatever name they might assume. It has been insinuated, that even when they were using this language, they were corresponding with the Prince of Orange; but the insinuation is supported by no evidence, and is highly improbable. That some of the leading men amongst the presbyterians believed that the Prince would not permit

Manner in which it was received. 21st July.

Vol. III. p. 138. Hind let Loose, p. 187, 188. It is against accepting this that the author reasons; but much of his reasoning applied to the former proclamation, and I have, when speaking of that proclamation, referred to it.

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1681. July.

the protestant religion to be banished from Britain, cannot be doubted; but the idea of his supplanting the King, was either not formed at this time, or had been communicated to very few in Scotland. They were in all likelihood persuaded, that the liberty which they had obtained, would actually serve the cause of the reformation; indeed, something of this kind seems to be implied in an expression which they used. They hoped that, with the grace of God, they would so demean themselves, that his Majesty would have reason rather to enlarge than to diminish his favour towards them. If these words meant any thing, it was, that he might yet restore them to the situations which they once held, not surely in consequence of their becoming converted to his religion, but of their remaining firm in the persuasion which had been endeared to them by persecution. They did accordingly act as conscientious men; they refused to make the slightest compliance which could give any advantage to popery; and they were even charged with ingratitude for the boldness and the success with which they warned their hearers against its introduction. *

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 618, and Appendix, No. 135. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 758. Hind let Loose, p. 208—216. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 506—508, where the insinuation against the presbyterians, mentioned in the text, is thrown out. This writer, Vol. II. p. 510, says, that the presbyterians were silent upon the subject of the danger of popery, being unwilling to give offence. How unfounded this assertion is, the reader will see from Burnet, Vol. III. p. 138, and from the relation of Balcarras. This nobleman says, p. 7, "The presbyterians, far from

The Cameronians, who had renounced their allegiance to a tyrannical sovereign, acted consistently when the indulgence was offered to them, and they boldly refused to take advantage of what had flowed from so polluted a source. They openly declared that the sole design of the toleration was to secure the introduction of popery; they expressed just abhorrence of that absolute power by which the King dispensed with the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and they continued to meet for divine worship in conventicles, setting at defiance those parts of the indulgence which denounced vengeance against all who preached in the fields, and did not give security for their loyalty. Renwick, one of their most revered and intrepid preachers, acting upon the principles which have been stated, was soon after this apprehended, and was publicly executed—closing by his death that list of horrible murders, which, under pretence of compelling religious conformity, had for many years disgraced the government of Scotland. *

1687. The Cameronians do not take advantage of the indulgence.

1688.

17th Feb.

being thankful, both in their pulpits and conversations, openly declared that they thought themselves nothing obliged by any toleration which they had, it being only given to introduce the catholics and ruin protestants among themselves; nor were these jealousies and apprehensions only among the clergy." There is some inaccuracy in this statement, but it proves the point for which I cite it. See also Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 626, who mentions that some of the presbyterian ministers were next year processed criminally for their freedom in preaching against popery.

* Short Memorial, &c. p. 27, 28. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 630—638. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 316—319.

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1683. Established clergy displeased with the toleration.

The established clergy, notwithstanding the acquiescence of some of the bishops, looked with uneasiness upon the liberty which all sects now enjoyed. Many of them dreaded the restoration of popery, and perhaps more apprehended, that the unrestrained efforts of the presbyterians would render the torrent of popular opinion against the hierarchy difficult to be resisted. They, in consequence, became discontented, and they did not conceal what they felt. Even the council were irritated at several of the King's measures; and although they used the most submissive language, antipathy to government was daily gaining ground, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to display its strength. *

Discontent in England.

While James was thus alienating Scotland, he was, in England, exasperating all whom he should have been anxious to attach. His exercise of the dispensing power,—his attempts to convert the Princess of Orange,—his endeavours to compel the clergy to read from their pulpits a declaration which they considered as hostile to the protestant church,—the imprisonment of the bishops who made a noble stand for the religion and the liberty of their country,—and the birth of the Prince of Wales, or rather the conviction that a child was imposed upon the kingdom, as the heir of the monarchy,—at length decided the great majority of the community to

* Relation of Balcarras, p. 5—7. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 624, 625.

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solicit the interference of the Prince of Orange, who was married to the King's eldest daughter, and was revered as the bulwark of the protestant faith. That prince had anxiously watched over the state of affairs in Britain; he lamented the headstrong and infatuated councils of his father-in-law; he considered it as his duty to save the nation over which he had hoped one day to reign, and, induced by the most powerful solicitations, and by the conviction that the period for interference was arrived, he resolved to come to England, and publicly announced his determination. *

Application to the Prince of Orange.

This noble spirit, by which all classes of men in England were actuated, did not influence the greater part of the Scotish council; for, after the intention of applying to the Prince was published, they offered their lives and fortunes to James, requesting that he would give them instructions at so critical a juncture; but, in the mean time, calling upon the landed proprietors to defend their sovereign. †

Scotish council adheres to the King. 3d Oct.

The Prince having completed his preparations, commenced his voyage; but his fleet was dispersed by a storm, and with difficulty again reached the

Prince of Orange sails, but is driven back by a storm.

* Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 200. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 203—205. Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 646. Life of Carstairs, p. 31, 32. I have only slightly alluded to the political events of this interesting period, these being fully detailed by numberless writers.

† Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 646, and Appendix to that Volume, Nos. 144, 145.

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1688. 19th Oct. Letter to the King from the Scotish Bishops. 3d Nov.

coast of Holland. This intelligence was soon conveyed to Britain; the damage sustained was exaggerated; and it was believed in Scotland that the scheme was defeated. The prelates in that kingdom, with the exception of the Bishops of Argyll and Caithness, exhibiting a sad contrast to their brethren in England, anew professed their devoted adherence to James; expressed their warmest gratitude to heaven, that "he had been so often miraculously prospered with glory and honour, in defence of the rights of his august brother, and of these kingdoms; and that, through the divine goodness, the ragings of the sea, and the madness of unreasonable men, he, whom they styled the darling of heaven, had been peaceably seated on the throne of his ancestors. They then declared how thankful they were for his repeated assurances of his royal protection to their national church and religion; congratulated him upon the birth of the Prince of Wales; alluded, with amazement, to the invasion from Holland, praying, that they who invaded his Majesty's just rights might be disappointed; and pledged themselves not only to be guided by the most fervent loyalty, but to promote, in all his subjects, a steadfast allegiance to his Majesty, which they conceived to be an essential part of religion." *

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 646, and Appendix, No. 147. The letter is also printed in an Address to the estates of Scotland, prefixed

CHAP. XXVIII. 1688. 3d N.

The letter is a most important document, unfolding the principles and sentiments which were entertained by the dignitaries, and by a great part of the ministers of the Scotish church. When it is recollected that it was addressed to a sovereign who had unambiguously shewn his intention to subvert the freedom and the religion of Britain, and who had persecuted those who sought to lead him to a more salutary policy; that it tended to defeat the enterprize of a prince who had inscribed upon his banners the protestant religion and the liberties of England, and who came to put an end to a system of ferocious tyranny,—there can be little hesitation about the light in which it should be regarded. If the Scotish bishops, whilst they secretly execrated the government of James, merely intended, by the most disgusting and impious flattery, to secure his favour, language cannot too strongly condemn such a departure from honour and integrity. If, on the other hand, they were sincere, and had brought themselves to believe that it was incumbent upon subjects to surrender to the caprice or the depravity of a monarch all the blessings which society was intended to confer, nay, even to sacrifice to him virtue and religion, can we wonder that there was a desire to overthrow an ecclesiastical establishment, apparently at war with the

to a pamphlet, entitled, A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence, London, 1693. Burnet, Vol. III. p. 275.

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1688. Nov.

prosperity and happiness of the community, and to make room for another, which, while it zealously dispensed the instructions and consolations of religion, protected from the misery of despotism, and opened the purest sources of temporal felicity?

Arrival of the Prince of Orange. 5th Nov.

The fears or the hopes of the Prince's failure were soon happily terminated. He again set sail for England, and, on the anniversary of the gunpowder treason, landed in safety; asking Burnet, who had peevishly declared that it seemed predestined that the future monarch should never put foot on British ground, what he now thought of the doctrine of predestination?*

The Revolution.

The Prince had at first some reason to dread, that the assurances of support had been rashly given to him; for few joined him, and there seemed little zeal for the change which he sought to accomplish. But the prospect soon became bright. The army and navy entered into his views; and the King, after some feeble attempts to assert his authority, and to regain the affection of his people, was filled with consternation, and precipitately left the kingdom. The Prince was then solicited to accept the government, and, after much discussion, he and his Princess were raised to the throne. †

Immediately after his landing, he sent to Scot-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 249—251. Life of Carstairs, p. 34. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 777.

† Rapin, Vol. II. p. 777. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 273, 274, and 305. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 651.

land a declaration of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms, for preserving the protestant religion, and for restoring the laws and the liberties of that ancient kingdom. In this declaration he enumerated the acts of oppression under which the people had groaned, assuring them, that the freeing the nation from all danger of popery and arbitrary power for the future, and fixing its civil and religious concerns upon a firm foundation, were the objects which he sought to accomplish. * A deep impression, as might have been expected, was made upon the public mind; most part of the nobility, gentlemen, and burgesses, declaring for the Prince, whilst the council, wavering and intimidated, offered but a faint resistance, and soon endeavoured, by compliance, to provide for their own safety. *

1689. 13th Feb. Proceedings in Scotland.

Nov.

It could not be hoped that the intelligence of such a surprising change could be universally received by an oppressed people with the calmness of moderation. A tumult took place in Edinburgh. The Earl of Perth, the Lord Chancellor, who, from having changed his religion, was peculiarly odious to the protestants, believing himself to be in danger, endeavoured to make his escape; but having been recognized, he was apprehended and impri-

Tumults.

10th Dec.

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 647—664.

† Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 649. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. III. p. 274, 275.

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soned in Kirkcaldy. A popish chapel, which had been fitted up with great splendour in the palace of Holyroodhouse, was demolished, and a few soldiers, who endeavoured to restrain the multitude, were killed. *

Episcopal Clergy insulted.

In the north of Scotland, where, from the prudence and mildness of the bishops, or from the inclination of the people, there had been little persecution, the prospect of a change in the ecclesiastical polity excited no ferment; but in the south and west, where there had been a long succession of the most grievous sufferings, and where the established clergy had taken an active part against the presbyterians, the hope of seeing the restoration of that form of church-government which they revered, led some of the Cameronians to insult the episcopal ministers. They carried them round their parishes in mock procession, reproached them for their past conduct, required them no longer to preach, and frequently concluded by burning their gowns. Improper as were these excesses, how light were they when put in the balance against the enormities which, under prelacy, had been perpetrated; for no personal violence, no tortures, no murders, disgraced a sect which had been borne down with every species of outrage. These incidental ebullitions of

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 650, 651. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 274, 275. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 234, 235. Relation by Balcarras, p. 20—25. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. IV. p. 179, 180.

popular sentiment, had no connection with the general arrangements of the presbyterians, who prudently considered what steps should be taken to regain their influence, and to conjoin with the accession of the new sovereign the settlement of their church. * CHAP. XXVIII. 1688.

When it became apparent that a new order of things would be introduced, men of all parties hastened from Scotland to London, that they might obtain from William, what they conceived to be essential for their own security, or for the good of the nation. † 7th June.

The Prince invited all the Scotish noblemen and gentlemen who were in London to meet him, and asked their advice respecting what should be done, for maintaining the protestant interest in Scotland. 8th June. They assembled to deliberate upon this interesting subject, and although some of the zealous friends of the late King, particularly the Viscount of Dundee, were present, they agreed to request William to take upon him the civil and military administration of the kingdom, and to summon a convention of estates to meet in Edinburgh in the following March. This address having been presented, the 18th June.

* Burnet, Vol. III. p. 274, 275. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 516, 517. This writer speaks with great indignation of the desolating progress of the Cameronians; but he had not considered their dreadful sufferings or those of the whole presbyterians, as worthy of being recorded in his work.

† Relation by the Earl of Balcarras, p. 28.

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King, in a few days after, informed them that he would adopt the counsel which they had given. *

1689. 14th June. Views with respect to the Church.

Before proceeding to detail what was done for regulating the church, it is of importance to state what were the views of the different parties concerned in ecclesiastical arrangements. The inclination of William himself was to continue episcopacy. Although he wished that all should be permitted, without molestation, to worship God according to conscience, yet he thought it desirable that the same form of church-government should be established through the whole of Britain; and had the episcopal party in Scotland now cordially joined him; had they acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and consented to those modifications of episcopacy which he contemplated, for including within the pale of the establishment many who else would not have entered it, there can be little doubt that he would have earnestly contended for the continuance of the hierarchy, and it is probable, that, by his influence, this continuance would have been accomplished. †

Advice of Carstairs.

He was soon however convinced by Carstairs,

* Relation by Balcarras, p. 32. 33. Burnet's History, Vol. III. p. 275, 276, compared with Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 651. Life of Principal Carstairs, p. 37. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 185.

† M'Cormick's Life of Principal Carstairs, p. 43. Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 35, compared with Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 652. Interesting letter of Ross, Bishop of Edinburgh, who was in London soon after the arrival of the Prince. The letter is published in Keith's Catalogue of Scotish Bishops, p. 41—44.

whom he consulted in all measures which related to the settlement of religion, that the soundest policy required him to abandon the opinion which he had formed. This enlightened divine, although attached to presbytery, was free from all rancour and bigotry; he calmly examined the state of public opinion, and gave the advice which he esteemed it prudent for the sovereign to follow. He represented to him that the episcopal party were in general disaffected to the revolution, and enemies to the principle upon which it proceeded; whilst the presbyterians, constituting the great body of the nation, had to a man declared for it—that it could not therefore be thought strange that he gave his countenance to his friends, and withheld it from his enemies—that episcopacy in Scotland had been so warped with the political doctrines of royal supremacy, passive obedience, and non-resistance, that, to establish it, would be inconsistent with the end of his coming, which was to banish these tenets—and that, as he could not shew to the non-conformists in England, although they were a numerous body, and warmly attached to him, all the favour which he could wish, lest he should embroil himself with the church, his consenting that presbytery should be the national religion of Scotland, would convince them that he was not prejudiced against their opinions, but was guided in his conduct towards them by political necessity. *

* Hints to the King by Carstairs, preserved in his own hand-writing, from which the above arguments are quoted in his Life, p. 39.

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1689. Effect of it.

This sound advice was strengthened by the virulent opposition made by the episcopals to the government of William; and he was satisfied that it would be unwise, and even hazardous, to resist the desire of his Scotish subjects, that presbytery should be restored. Whilst, however, he came to this determination, he cordially agreed with Carstairs, that he should not adopt the private animosities of the presbyterians, but that he should render the situation of the episcopal clergy as comfortable as was consistent with the stability of his throne, guard them against insult, and give them to understand, that his ear would be ever open to the just complaints of all who were injured and oppressed. * It is delightful, after dwelling so long upon the inquisitorial tenets and practices which have been recorded, to be introduced to the reign of a monarch, keeping steadily in view the beneficent spirit of pure religion, wishing to render it the bond of peace and love, and to protect, in the profession of what he believed to be divine truth, every man who did not violate the laws of the state.

The great body of the people in Scotland were, from numberless causes which have often been stated, earnest that the presbyterian polity should be sanctioned by the legislature, and in this they were joined by many of the nobility, and of the most wealthy and enlightened members of the com-

* Life of Principal Carstairs, p. 40.

munity. The ministers who had been ejected at the restoration, and the younger men who had been educated in their sentiments, were so much attached to the exclusive notions which had been entertained under the covenant, that they would readily, had they possessed the power, have proceeded against prelacy as incompatible with the purity of religion; but many of their brethren had relinquished this idea, and had no aversion to tolerate those whose opinions of church-government differed from their own. * CHAP. XXVIII. 1689

From these, in some degree conflicting sentiments, it was to be expected that it would not be easy to frame ecclesiastical arrangements; and in what manner this was done, must now be detailed. The convention of estates, to which allusion has been already made, met at Edinburgh, and the Duke of Hamilton was elected to preside. A letter from the King was read, in which he stated, "That it lay on them to enter upon such consultations as were most likely to settle them upon sure and lasting foundations, which he trusted they would do with all convenient speed, with regard to the public good, and Convention of estates. March 11.

* Wodrow, Vol. II. p. 161, and Appendix, No. 157, in which the sentiments of the zealous presbyterians are detailed, compared with "A Letter from a Presbyterian minister to a member of Parliament," by John Ballantyne, published 2d June 1693. Life of Carstairs, p. 40. Further answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 4—. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c. p. 296—326, where Bishop Sage labours, very unsuccessfully I think, to prove that the majority of the people were against Presbytery.

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1689. March.

the general interests and inclinations of the people, that, after so much trouble and great suffering, they might live happily and in peace." No object could be more important, and at no time could it be more desirable that animosities should be laid aside. The convention was numerously attended, for the adherents of the late King, hoping that they might have influence, were present when it commenced; but finding that they could not promote their master's interest, and affecting to be alarmed at the arrival of some bodies of armed men, who had been brought to protect the meeting against a suspected attack of the Duke of Gordon, who still held the castle for James, they early withdrew. The convention approved of what had been done by the noblemen and gentlemen in London; issued orders for putting the nation in a proper state of defence; and found that James, having changed the government from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power, which power he had exercised to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom by various acts of oppression which they enumerated, had forfeited the crown, so that the throne was become vacant.

Claim of rights.

They then proceeded to digest what has been called the claim of right, specifying what exertions of the prerogative were contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and what abuses it was necessary to remove, for vindicating and asserting

their antient rights and liberties; thus exhibiting the noble spectacle of the virtual representatives of a nation, fixing its government so as to promote the happiness of the people, and interweaving with the constitution this grand maxim of polity, that all the different classes in whom power is vested, hold that power, not by divine appointment, which, however the power may be abused, cannot be disputed, but under the implicit condition, that the interest of the community must be promoted, and that they who sacrifice this interest, forfeiting their rank and authority, may, without the guilt of rebellion, be removed or deposed. This part of the claim of right, a paper which should be familiar to every inhabitant of Britain, and which should be venerated as affording a salutary example to the whole of mankind, fully confirms the statement which has been given of the enormities which disgraced the reigns of the two former monarchs,—enormities which, however grievous, led to the change now about to be accomplished.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1689. April.

It belongs to general history to record the different provisions and declarations of this admirable act: This work must be confined to observing, that one branch of it was, "that prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the church, above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the reformation, (they having reformed

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from popery by presbyters) and therefore ought to be abolished." It has been disputed how far it was proper to insert this general position in a claim of rights, episcopacy having been established by parliament, the organ of the national will; but the convention, proceeding upon the idea that all which was mentioned in the claim became part of the condition upon which the crown was held, wisely did not shackle themselves by formal or verbal difficulties, but specified what was believed by them to be essential for the settlement of the nation. They concluded with the oath to be taken by all subjects, presenting a striking contrast to those complex oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which it was to supersede. "I do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God." *

1689. April.

King and Queen proclaimed. 11th April.

King William and Queen Mary were, on the same day upon which the claim was finished, proclaimed the Sovereigns of Scotland; and the Earl of Argyll, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple were sent to London to present the

* Viscount Tarbat's Collection of Acts of Parliament, Vol. III. p. 143—162. Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 31, 32. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 651. Balcarras's Relation, p. 35 and 40. Life of Principal Carstairs, p. 37, 38. Farther answers to the Scotish Presbyterian Eloquence; at the conclusion of which is contrasted the Acts of Charles and James VII. against presbyterians, and those of William and Mary against episcopacy. See in particular, p. 47.

claim of rights, and to tender the coronation oath. The King approved of what had been done, and he took the oath, only adding an explanation of one clause in it, which reflects on him the highest honour. He was required to swear that he would abolish and gainstand all false religion. This appeared to him to imply, that he was to persecute those who dissented from the established faith, and, shrinking from the idea, he requested it to be understood that he did not, by the oath, bind himself to persecute any of his subjects for following the dictates of conscience. *

1689. April.

By his accepting the government on the terms proposed by the convention, the fate of prelacy was decided. Accordingly, when the convention was, at its own request, converted into an assembly of the estates, an act was introduced, which, after the insertion of the clause in the claim of rights relating to church-government, enacted, "that prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the church of this kingdom above presbyters should be abolished; that certain acts, establishing episcopacy, should be rescinded; and that their Majesties, with the advice and consent of the estates, should settle by law, that church-government in the kingdom

Prelacy abolished in Scotland. 22d June.

* Acts of Parliament, Vol. III. p. 169, 170, 175, 116, and 183, 184. Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 34. Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 327. The remark of Sir John upon this part of the King's conduct appears to me very uncandid.

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which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people." *

1689. The moderation of the King counteracted by the clergy.

It was the intention of the King, and of the moderate presbyterians, by whom he was directed, to found the restoration of presbytery upon the wishes of the people, without entering into the question of its divine institution; to permit all the episcopal clergy who were willing to submit to the presbyterian polity, and to acknowledge the new government, to retain their benefices; to preserve to patrons the right of presentation to ecclesiastical livings; and to put an end to that interference on the part of the clergy with state affairs, which had distracted their attention from their proper duties, rendered the pulpits the scene of violent political discussion, and kept alive a turbulent spirit, which it was always difficult, and often impossible to restrain. † The great body of the presbyterians, however, elated with the victory which they had obtained, were not disposed to acquiesce in the calm proceedings which would have gratified their sovereign; they insisted upon a declaration, that their form of polity was sanctioned or prescribed by the word of God; they were eager that patronage should be abolished; and they did not look

* Acts of Parliament by Tarbet, Vol. III. p. 214, 215.

† Overture for settling Church Government in Scotland, presented to Parliament by the Duke of Hamilton in 1689, published in Appendix to Carstairs' State Papers, No. 2. Letter from a Presbyterian Minister to a Member of Parliament, p. 9.

with the eye of kind forbearance upon their episcopal brethren. The Duke of Hamilton, disapproving their violence, and unwilling to put to the hazard of a decision the points in dispute, deferred the settlement of the church to a day, before the arrival of which he adjourned the parliament, and thus was Scotland, for some time, left without an establishment. * CHAP. XXVIII. 1689.

During the interval which elapsed from the adjournment of the estates till the next session, the beneficent maxims of the King guided the ecclesiastical proceedings towards the episcopal clergy; for most of them were permitted, without molestation, to continue in their livings, even although they refused to pray for his Majesty, and even occasionally prayed for the late monarch. †

It was, however, judged necessary, when parliament again assembled, that the state of the church should be regulated. Accordingly, the Earl of Melvil, who, owing to the discontent of the Duke of Hamilton, was appointed commissioner received instructions to forward the presbyterian establishment, but to be cautious about yielding the King's Ecclesiastical regulations. 1690.

* Life of Carstairs, p. 47—49, compared with Burnet, Vol. IV. p. 36. Address to the Estates of Scotland, prefixed to Continuation of an Answer to the Scotish Presbyterian Eloquence. The pamphlet itself, p. 1—4.

† Life of Principal Carstairs, p. 40, and note attached to that page, compared with Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 531—539.

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supremacy, and permitting the abolition of patronage. The session commenced in April, and was much occupied with ecclesiastical affairs. It was ordained, that the presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected from their livings since the year 1661, should be restored to them, and should immediately enter upon the discharge of their duties, and receive their salaries. Above sixty of these men were alive, and although this act did certainly subject to much inconvenience the episcopal incumbents, who were in consequence of it removed, yet it should be recollected, that the persons substituted for them had, for many years, been exposed to persecution, and had been subjected to poverty, from their not complying with prelacy. In this point of view, there was, in the measure, no injustice, and as many benefices were open to such of the former establishment as took the oaths, their situation cannot be considered as very distressing. *

1690. April.

An act was also passed, ratifying the Westminster Confession of Faith, and settling the government of the church by presbytery. The celebrated statute of 1592 was taken as the model; the different courts specified in it were restored, sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general

* Acts of Parliament, Vol. III. p. 219, 220. Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 92. Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 652, all compared with Skinner, Vol. II. p. 545.

assemblies; and the members of these courts were declared to be the presbyterian ministers ejected since January 1662, and such ministers and elders as they should hereafter admit. The first General Assembly was appointed to be held in October. With respect to the episcopal ministers, the act stated, "that many conform ministers either had deserted, or were removed from preaching in their churches before the 13th day of April, and that others had been deprived, for refusing to read a proclamation of that date, against owning the late King James; and, at the same time, appointing prayers for King William and Queen Mary;" and provision was made for supplying with presbyterian ministers the parishes thus vacant. The act concluded, by granting permission to the clergy exercising the ecclesiastical government to authorize visitors to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by the due course of church-process and censures. This statute extended the powers of the establishment, but many of the ministers were not contented; they insisted upon what they had demanded in the preceding session; and the commissioner, either worn out by their importunity, or convinced that it was necessary to gratify them, not only consented to an act doing away his Majesty's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, but also to the abolition of patronage, thus transferring to

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the great body of the people the right of choosing their pastors. *

1690. The King dissatisfied.

With this part of the proceedings of parliament, the King was highly dissatisfied. It was in express opposition to the conciliating schemes which he had suggested; it conferred on the presbyterians an extent of power, which, from prejudice and passion, there was too much reason to apprehend that they would abuse; and it put the episcopal clergy almost entirely at the mercy of men exasperated against them. His fears were well founded. The proceedings against the ministers of the former establishment became much more rigid; and although the General Assembly went upon the idea that those of them who submitted to government should continue in the church, enjoining the visitors appointed to remove none but such as were insufficient, scandalous, erroneous, or supinely negligent, and even declaring that they would depose no incumbents simply for their opinions concerning church-government, yet there can be little doubt that the visitors were often influenced by feelings which perverted their judgment, and that many were ejected, who, upon the principle recognized by the Assembly and approved by the King, might have been retained. This harshness to their episcopal brethren continued, and was at length carried so far, that his Majesty dissolved the Assembly which was held in 1692, and

* Acts of second Session of first Parliament of William and Mary, in Tarbet's Collection, Vol. III. Chapters, 2, 5, and 23.

was with difficulty persuaded again to countenance its meeting. The episcopal clergy also took the alarm. They dreaded that the visitations would be rendered subservient to oppression, and not a few, who, had gentler measures been adopted, would have gladly conformed, resigned in despair. * 1690.

But whatever may be thought of the acts which have been mentioned, this session of parliament passed others about which, amongst good men, there can be no diversity of opinion. The iniquitous statutes enforcing conformity were repealed, and excommunication, divested of all civil pains, was confined to the production of a moral and a religious effect, without the possibility of being rendered the tool of bigotry and of ecclesiastical oppression. †

1695. Final settlement of the church.

With all the violence which can be ascribed to the presbyterians, the candid reader who has attended to their sufferings during the establishment of episcopacy will be astonished, rather that they entered so far as they did into the views of the King, than that they fell short of them. It is certain, that many of the episcopal ministers quietly enjoyed their benefices, even immediately after their opponents had obtained a triumph, and in a short time the door of

* Life of Carstairs, p. 47, 49—51, and 53. Acts of Assembly, 1690. Farther answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 44—46. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. IV. p. 92—93. Letter from a Presbyterian minister to a member of Parliament, p. 4, 5.

† Acts of Parliament, Vol. III. p. 316, 317.

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conformity was thrown so widely open to them, that this very circumstance prevented them from profiting by the lenity which was shewn. In the session of parliament held this year, an act was proposed for settling the peace and quiet of the church. It prescribed what was to be done by all who entered into the ministry; and, referring to the episcopal clergy, it offered to them terms as moderate as were consistent with the existence of the presbyterian establishment. It required that presbytery should be acknowledged as the only government of the church of Scotland, a fact, the admission of which did not imply the surrender of any principle; that the Westminster confession should be subscribed, to which no episcopalian could object, because that confession had been continued after the restoration of episcopacy; and it ordained, that all the episcopal ministers having churches, who offered within thirty days to qualify before any ecclesiastical judicatory in the manner which has been mentioned, should have a part in the government of the church, and should be under the special protection of their Majesties till they were formally admitted. Yet numbers of them would not comply; they permitted the time prescribed for qualification to elapse, and thus most deservedly exposed themselves to deposition.*

* Acts of Parliament by Tarbet, Vol. III. p. 395—397. Letter of a Presbyterian minister to a member of Parliament, p. 7, 8. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. IV. p. 176, 177.

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This conduct, apparently so unreasonable, is explained by the fact, that the episcopalians were led to entertain the hope, that the presbyterian church rested on an insecure foundation, and that, by keeping aloof from it, they would accelerate its destruction. *

Explanation of the conduct of the episcopal clergy.

They knew that the King was highly irritated by the abolition of patronage, and that he lamented his having relinquished his original scheme in favour of episcopacy; and the removal of Lord Melvil and his party, who had zealously defended the late changes in ecclesiastical government, seemed to indicate that the subject of polity might again be considered. Many of the nobility regretted the influence which the presbyterians had acquired; the Duke of Hamilton was secretly desirous that prelacy should be restored; and, during the meeting of parliament, a measure was proposed, which threatened to alienate the King from the establishment that he had sanctioned, and which might have terminated in the most distressing agitation of the public mind.

Oath of allegiance and assurance.

April.

It was enacted, that all persons, upon being required, should take the oath of allegiance, and what was called the assurance, in which it was asserted, that their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, were the only lawful and undoubted Sove-

* Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 177, 178, compared with the Letter of a Presbyterian minister, p. 11, 12.

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reigns of the realm, as well *de jure* of right, as *de facto* in possession. * The act was brought forward by a set of men not friendly to the presbyterians; and this circumstance, combined with the idea that the assurance implied a distrust of their loyalty, and tended, contrary to former practice, to involve them in vague declarations which might be turned against them, determined the ministers to resist an innovation from which they apprehended danger to their church. † They accordingly applied to the council, who had a discretionary power not to enforce the act; but their application was not only disregarded, the council even represented to the King the necessity of insisting that the clergy should subscribe the assurance. Not aware of the flame which was kindling in Scotland, his Majesty followed this advice; and issued an order, that the oath of allegiance and the assurance should, before proceeding to their deliberations, be taken by all the members of the General Assembly, which was about to meet. Lord Carmichael having found the ministers resolute, had thought it his duty to convey this intelligence to London; but the King was inflexible, confirmed in his determination by the Earl of Stair and Lord Tarbet, who now represented the obstinacy of the clergy as rebellion.

Oath of allegiance and assurance resisted by the Clergy.

* Collection of Acts of Parliament, Vol. III. p. 385—380.

† Life of Carstairs p. 52—57, and State Papers and Letters which follow, p. 171, and 178, 179.

1693. Firmness of Carstairs. May.

Happily Carstairs, who had been absent from court, arrived at Kensington at the critical moment when the messenger, conveying his Majesty's mandate, was dispatched. He formed the bold resolution, as the only method for preventing the most disastrous events, of stopping the courier. Having done so, and got possession of the papers, he hastened to the King's bed-room, and, having awakened him, told what he had done. William was at first violently enraged; but Carstairs represented so powerfully the wisdom of conciliating the presbyterians, who, however misled, were not acting from disaffection, that his Majesty was convinced. He commanded Carstairs to burn the dispatches, and to draw up such instructions to the commissioners, as would secure the affections of the people of Scotland. These instructions he subscribed, and they reached Edinburgh on the day of the sitting of the Assembly.* The joy diffused by the intelligence that the King was to dispense with the assurance, may be more easily conceived than it can be described. The clergy were filled with gratitude; all their suspicions of their Sovereign's unfavourable intentions with respect to them were dissipated;—from this moment their attachment to his government became unalterable, and they not only

Harmony restored.

* A very interesting account of this important event in our national history, from the most authentic sources, is given by Dr M'Cormick in his Life of Carstairs, p. 57—64. Burnet's History, Vol. IV. p. 171. Laing's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 228, 229.

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cheerfully contributed to its support, but they gratified the King, by adopting the gentle measures as to the episcopal clergy which parliament had sanctioned, permitting many of them, notwithstanding their rejection of the most lenient terms of conformity, not indeed to be members of ecclesiastical judicatories, which they had refused to countenance and support, but without molestation to remain for life in the benefices which, before the revolution, they had possessed.*

Conclusion.

The presbyterian church may, from this time, be considered as firmly established;—and having now completed my design of tracing the various forms which the reformation assumed in Scotland, from its introduction to the Revolution, I take my final leave of the subject, by making a few observations naturally suggested by the whole history.

That history cannot have been perused without the reader perceiving that the connection between ecclesiastical and civil arrangements was so intimate, that the former decidedly influenced, and indeed generally produced the latter. The effect of this upon religion was most deplorable. It converted the clergy into the instruments of faction, and it weakened the energy of government, whilst it asso-

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. IV. p. 177. Skinner, Vol. II. p. 585 and 590, where, amidst his harsh censures of the presbyterians, he admits the fact wiping away these censures, that many of the episcopal ministers, after the full establishment of presbytery, retained their livings.

ciated with those doctrines which should wean us from the world, or counteract its power, the worst and most violent passions which agitate and deform our nature. At the Revolution, this cause of evil was removed, and the state asserted its independence. The ministers of the church were confined to the discharge of the interesting duties of their sacred office; and its judicatories to the discussion of spiritual subjects, or to the preservation of the polity to which they owe their existence. CHAP. XXVIII. 1693.

The history of presbytery since the Revolution has clearly shewn, what was long doubted, that it is perfectly compatible with submission to a well regulated monarchy. The clergy of Scotland, whilst they in general hold the admirable political principles upon which the British constitution rests, have, in the most trying seasons, upheld the throne, and been eminently instrumental in preserving it from destruction.

In the progress of this work, there has been too much cause to lament, that attachment to particular forms of ecclesiastical government extinguished charity; and that the different denominations into which the community was split, no sooner escaped from persecution, than they directed it against all whom their own party did not comprehend. At the Revolution, toleration, venerated by the monarch, was infused into the church. The first effect of this was discernible, in the permission given to episcopal ministers to retain their benefices under a

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presbyterian establishment; but many years elapsed before its steady influence was experienced. The antipathies which a long period of theological contention had created, were for a considerable time fostered; episcopacy was viewed too much in the light of a corruption of religion; and separation from the church, even when resulting from sincere, however mistaken conviction, was branded with the appellations of heresy and of schism. But the cause of truth has, in Scotland at least, gained the triumph which King William anticipated; every man is allowed to embrace the doctrines which he believes to be taught by the word of God; and the established ministers, with few exceptions, fervently wish that the exercise of this liberality may never be suspended. The presbyterian church, supported by the reverence and the affection of her children, seeks no aid from the imposition of oaths and of tests; she cheerfully consents, that civil privileges should be shared by virtuous and patriotic members of society, whatever be their religious profession; and she has no fear, that, by the multiplicity of sects which she sees around her, her exertions will be enfeebled, or her palaces be overthrown.

THE END.

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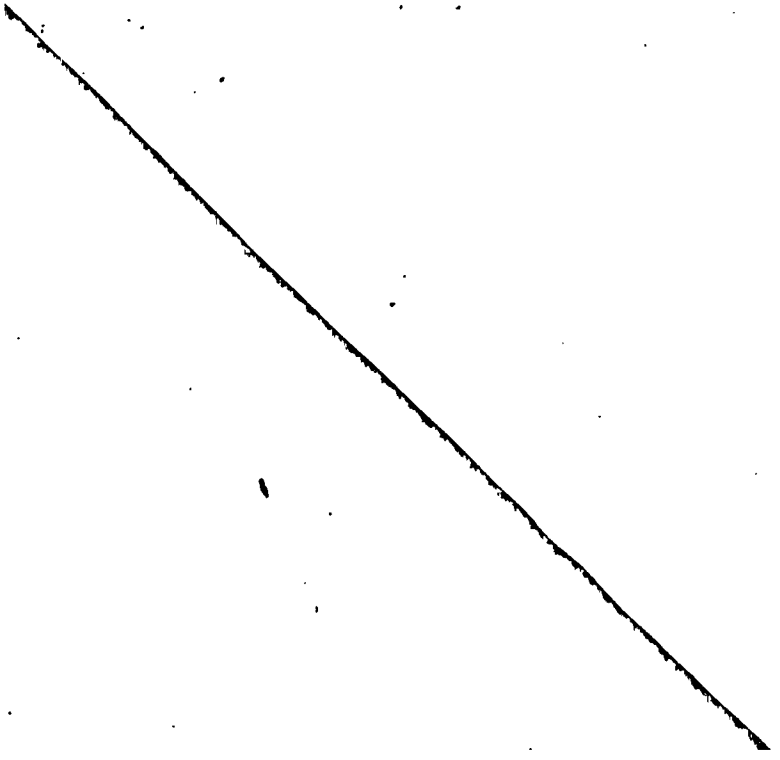

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